

Supplement to AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Volume 43, No. 3, Part 2

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MEMOIRS OF THE  
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION

NOTES ON THE CADDO

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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The eagle feather headdress from above,  
 The eagle feather headdress from above,  
 From the eagle above, from the eagle above;  
 It is that feather we wear,  
 It is that feather we wear.

(Song recorded in Hainai by Mooney)



Headdress of Ghost dance leader  
 Drawn by White Moon

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## FOREWORD

The following data were recorded in New York City in the winter of 1921-22 with the cooperation of White Moon, a recent Caddo graduate of Carlisle who in New York shrewdly called himself Chief Silver Moon. In Oklahoma he was generally known as Mike Martin. In December, 1927, at Anadarko, Oklahoma, while collecting folk tales from the Kiowa, I had opportunities to check up on some of White Moon's data and to add to them, as I worked with two middle-aged men, James Ingkanish, a Caddo; and Grayson Pardon or Ninnid, whose mother was a Delaware, his father, Caddo, and his father's father's father, a Frenchman.

Dr. Gladys Reichard worked with White Moon in language and checked some of the terms he gave me. My thanks to her, also to Dr. Erminie Voegelin for comparative notes, for reading manuscript and encouraging publication. I have worked so little with broken cultures that it was hard to estimate the value of this contribution. It seemed quite negligible, but Dr. Voegelin opines that in view of the dearth of information about the Caddo it will be welcome. Comparatively little may be known about the Caddo, yet had I known as much about the ethnology of Southeastern tribes as is to be known today I might have secured fuller Caddo records.

In my ignorance lay one advantage, I was not consciously or unconsciously seeking survivals. Now, in editing the notes, I am all the more impressed by the persistence of Southeastern traits in these fragmentary groups of the once large Caddo confederacies. How little the Caddo seem to have been affected by recent Indian neighbors in Texas and Oklahoma is another general impression. Probably broken cultures thrown together helter-skelter borrow little from one another.





## NOTES ON THE CADDO

### LOCALIZATION AND DIALECTICAL DIVISION

THE remnants of the Caddo confederacies of northwestern Louisiana and northeastern Texas settled in Oklahoma in 1859. After the Louisiana Purchase when Louisiana bands joined their tribesmen in Texas all lived there peaceably until some White Texans determined upon an indiscriminate massacre of raiding Comanche and of all Reservation Indians. The Caddo escaped by a forced march of two weeks in midsummer to the banks of the Washita River.

Of this period White Moon talked as follows:

Comanche and Kiowa would raid, up to the Caddo villages.<sup>1</sup> The Texans trailed them and blamed the Caddo as well. The soldiers stood by the Caddo, said they would move them north where they would have no further trouble with Texans. Caddo were scouts for the United States army.

Once a Kiowa wearing a corselet of hide from buffalo head and using medicine could not be killed. White soldiers shot at him, then a Caddo scout shot him in the back where the corselet raised up as he stooped. After the Caddo killed this fellow, the Kiowa became weak.

Before the Territory was opened up and afterwards, there were violent doings among both Whites and Indians. My jitney driver and friend, Jim Blakeley, who was a sheriff in those early days, told me several grim stories, but the story I found most interesting was told by James Ingkanish—to illustrate the prophetic power of Coyote.

Caiyute will tell you by his crying what is going to happen. My father was killed by outlaws in 1892. One time he was riding along and two caiyutes kep' alongside, one on each side. They was crying. They would run ahead and sit down and wait until he caught up. Then they ran ahead again and sat down and cried. My father didn' tell me about this until two weeks later. His mind was always on tracking them outlaws. I knew I had to get his mind off that. I would go along with him; when he saddled his horse I would saddle mine. At night he began to tell me what I should do for the family, if he wasn't there. One day as I was ridin' off to the sheep camp he gave me five dollars. He gave five to Henery (Gen. III, 18) and five to Joe Dunlop (half brother to Nako'tete, Gen. III, 10). Them two, Dunlop and my father, was going deer hunting and then going to meet me at the sheep camp. Dunlop met me there but my father did not. Each had gone after a deer. Dunlop got his. Didn't know what became of my father. Didn't come home that night. When we got back to the house we saw some men coming up. I thought they was the outlaws. I gave guns to all the men in the house and said, "I am going out bare-handed; but if you see them draw a gun on me, shoot!" They was marshals after them outlaws.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Weko*, village.

We got out before daybreak to follow my father's track, from where he had left Dunlop. Went down to creek; camp fire on other side. My father had gone down on opposite side of creek a little way and then turned. They must have called him back. Probably tied his legs under his horse. We followed the tracks, one was riding each side father's horse, one riding behind. Went to sunflower brush. Here marshals dropped back, thinking outlaws might be hiding in it to shoot, but I kept on. Found my father shot in forehead and under jaw. When they shot first he must have given a whoop, yelled, like a brave man, and then they shot again. Shot his horse too. I turned back. The marshals went on. Later, when they was hanging one of the outlaws, a man asked him what he was hanging for. "For killing Ingkanish." Had nothing against him 'cept for spy. They knew marshals were hot on them and he would tell on them.

Today the two centres of distribution of the people in the Wichita Reservation<sup>2</sup> in western Oklahoma are Sugar Creek (R., *nawidi'chabitso'*: *na*, locative, *widi'c*, salt, *habitso'*, it is sweet)<sup>3</sup> in the north of Caddo County about fifteen miles north of Anadarko, and, in the south, Fort Cobb (*nasũ'nda'*: *na*, locative, *sũ'nda'*, soldier), along the Washita River from Fort Cobb to Anadarko (*nawashita*). (See Map.) According to White Moon's estimate about 350 persons live in the northern division and about 150, in the southern.<sup>4</sup> This population lives scattered on the lands given to individuals at the allotment made by the Federal Government in 1902. Before the allotment—160 acres to every soul—there was a piece of tillable land, probably near Anadarko, which was worked by the tribe, a plot assigned to each household. This land was referred to as *natuahaimaikoina* or *nanatuaimai*, at big field.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For Caddo, Wichita, and Delaware tribes.

<sup>3</sup> R. = Reichard. Her phonetic key is:

ι = *i* in *fit*  
 ŭ = *oo* in *book*  
 α = *u* in *but*  
 ε = *e* in *met*  
 a = *a* in *father*  
 u = *u* in *mute*  
 o = *o* in *note*  
 G = *kg* medial  
 D = *td* medial  
 c = *sh*

<sup>4</sup> In 1904 the tribe numbered 535 (Handbook) and in 1910, "a little more than 500" (Harrington). The Office of Indian Affairs enumerates 708 for 1930, 967 for 1937, 1019 for 1939, and 1048 for 1940. Obviously the criterion for tribal membership has been changing.

<sup>5</sup> Probably this is a reference to the tribal or large scale work-party for clearing and ploughing (hoeing) lands held separately by householders, which prevailed into the eighteenth century. There was the same kind of work-party for house building (Hatcher, XXXI, 155, 156).



Between the northern division and the southern there appears evidence of dialectical distinction. *gaduda'atcu* (R.), which is "the strongest language," prevails in the north, although most of the Fort Cobb people also speak it. Similarly, although *ha'ine'* (R.) is spoken in the north and one of the northern family localities is called *naha'ine'*, the centre of *ha'ine'* is in the south.

Now and again a *nacidu'c* (R.) word or a *ha'ic* (R.) word will be used. Of other dialectical divisions,<sup>6</sup> "perhaps two,"<sup>7</sup> White Moon had forgotten the names.<sup>8</sup>

The Caddo term for such divisions is *kuosho'dacha*, meaning lots of people living, e.g. *naha'ine' kuosho'dacha*, lots of people living at *ha'ine'*. *Hasi'ne* (R.) is the form White Moon and Ingkanish give for the tribal name.<sup>9</sup>

Between the two Caddo divisions considerable land is held by Whites, and there are in the County several White towns, Lookeba, Binger (*nabinka*) and Gracemont, the two latter each with a population of almost two thousand, and in the south Anadarko with six thousand. A few Caddo live in these White towns—in Anadarko there may be from fifteen to twenty.

Between the two Caddo divisions, from Gracemont to Anadarko, live also the intermarrying Wichita and Kichai, who number about 300. South of the Washita River<sup>10</sup> live the Comanche (*so'ta*). East and west and southwest of Anadarko live the Kiowa (*ka'hiwa*) and Apache (*ishikwita'*) once

<sup>6</sup> Twelve divisions were recorded by Mooney in 1896: *Kä'dohädä'cho*, *Nädä'ko* (Anadarko), *Hai'nai*, *Nä'baidä'cho*, *Nä'kohodo'tsi*, *Näshi'tosh*, *Yä'täsi*, *Hädai'i*, (*Hai'ish*, *Nä'ka'-na'wan*, *I'mäha* (Kwâpâ), *Yowa'ni* (Choctaw). (The Ghost-Dance Religion, 1092–1093). Cp. Sibley, 95–96.

Pardon referred to a "lost tribe" tradition. A band of Caddo went buffalo hunting to the west and never returned. Ingkanish said that some *hainai* went to California.

Dr. Voegelin was told in 1935 by an Absentee Shawnee that about 1824–40 there were on a reservation forty miles from Austin, Texas (then Mexico) together with the Shawnee, Delaware (present Anadarko group), Wichita, Kichai, Creeks, altogether representatives from twenty-two tribes, among them Caddo, Ainaï Caddo, and a Caddo group called Wikos. (Shawnee Field Notes).

<sup>7</sup> Said probably to complete the preferred number. See p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Yada'si'* (R.) was subsequently recalled, likewise, uncertainly, *nadako* (Anadarko). Ingkanish knew only of *hainai* and *nadarko* of whom there are few, one or two. Pardon mentioned: *Kaddohoda'cho* (*hada'cho*, it hurts!), *hainai*, *nadarko*, *na'sitush*, *yatäsi*, *haiish*—"all mixed today," and he did not know the group affiliation of anybody. For references to *Quapaw*, see pp. 52, 53 to Choctaw (*sha'ta*), see pp. 26, 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Hasi'nai* is translated "our own folk," in the Handbook. *Xasinë* has also been given as a division or band term (Spier, 258). Spier mentions also *kadohadatc*, *hainaï*, *anadark'*.

<sup>10</sup> "Boundary River," to the north live the Caddo, Wichita, and Delaware; to the south, the Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, and Comanche.

called Ka'ntsi, cheats.<sup>11</sup> To the north of Caddo County, across the Canadian River, are the Cheyenne (*shane'tika*) and Arapaho (*sianabu*).

Study of the distribution of the persons cited in the genealogical tables has shown a tendency among the Caddo to live together in family settlements or groups which are composed rather more of matrilineal than of patrilineal relatives. There is a fairly marked tendency for men to join their wife's group, although many instances occur (see Appendix) where a man brings his wife to his parents' group, particularly, as might be expected, when his wife is of another tribe.

#### GOVERNMENT

Between the northern and southern divisions of the tribe the prime distinction is in the chieftaincy. Each division has its own chief (*kadhi'*).<sup>12</sup> In missions to Washington both chiefs are expected to participate. One division would not be properly represented by the chief of the other division. Since 1896 Enoch Hoag (Gen. I, 7) has been chief at Sugar Creek. The Fort Cobb chieftaincy is for the moment unfilled, Francis Longhat, the chief, having lately died. Harry Age (*chuitsi*)<sup>13</sup> (Gen. III, 17), the interpreter, is being talked of for chief. (In 1922 he became chief.)

To Francis Longhat,<sup>14</sup> the deceased chief, Harry Age is unrelated in blood; but Francis was his stepfather. The office of chief, as far as the evidence goes, is non-hereditary, strictly speaking at least. Naturally enough a kinsman or family connection might be chosen for apprentice, but the criterion for selection to office is successful assistantship or apprenticeship. When Francis himself was talked of as chief, some one had objected, saying, "He does not know how to be a chief." But Stephen Martin (Gen. II, 17) for one, had disagreed, referring to the fact that as a boy Francis had been sent to attend council meetings. "He is like a bag you have filled up, tied, and hung to a tree"—at hand when you want it. Clarence, the oldest son of Enoch Hoag, in time—he is under forty (1927)—will be considered seriously for chief. "He always goes to council meetings."

Enoch Hoag had been apprenticed to White-bread (R. *dacgathagaiyu'*, bread, white) who in his turn had been apprenticed to Once-in-white-house (R. *hagaiyu'kinuiseya'*: *hagaiyu'*, white, *kinuiseya'*, he used to live in) or Caddo Jake (Gen. I, 22) who died a very old man ("130 years old") in

<sup>11</sup> Mooney, 1103.

<sup>12</sup> See Harrington, 149; Joutel, 353, 379.

<sup>13</sup> White Moon translates cry-baby, coward, sissy, more-like-a-woman. Pardon would not translate *chowitsi*, as he called Harry Age. The term is obviously opprobrious.

<sup>14</sup> Brother of Gen. I, 23 and of Gen. II, 24.



1914.<sup>15</sup>—Between none of these men was there any blood relationship.<sup>16</sup> But the wife of chief Once-in-white-house was called sister (parallel cousin) by Enoch Hoag, and lived with her husband in the same settlement. Enoch Hoag had taken the place of Moonlight (Gen. II, 46) who was White-bread's nephew and apprentice, but who died before White-bread. According to Pardon, Moonlight was related to White-bread through White-bread's wife. He was his interpreter.

There is the office of treasurer (R. *sunaneida'nnacaha*, money, some one who keeps). This office had been held by Mr. Blue (Gen. I, 10), younger brother of Enoch Hoag.

Council meetings (*Gambakeisa<sup>a</sup>wa'*, there is going to be a council) are called several days in advance by the chief, called at any time, but more particularly during the Ghost dance, since then all the people have assembled. To call a meeting the chief may also send out his son or son-in-law. Formerly there was an office of Chief's messenger called *t'uma* (*tama'*, crier, Pardon). The *t'uma* rode each dawn through the villages, to wake the people and issue orders. "He talked as he rode." He carried a whip of buffalo hide and executed orders.<sup>17</sup> He served also as a guard for ceremonies.<sup>18</sup> Caddo Dick, a very old man, living alone on Spring Creek,<sup>19</sup> formerly served as *t'uma* and he still goes by that title used as a personal name. He rounded up the people for the Ghost dance. There was also an office of war messenger or runner (R. *neiteyu''niaca'*, some one who carries messages) which no longer exists.

To promote attendance at the council a dance may also be announced.

At the council held in the chief's house, everybody sits around, on his or her blanket, in a circle, with the chief in the middle to make addresses. Anybody may stand up to talk.

#### KINSHIP

Of any clanship system White Moon had never heard, and, whatever approach to the subject we made, he remained consistently unaware of clan groups. White Moon was born in 1897, and it seemed not improbable that his ignorance of clanship was characteristic of the younger generation of the tribe; but Ingkanish<sup>20</sup> and Pardon were equally ignorant of any clanship

<sup>15</sup> His son was considered too young to take office. He was twenty-five.

<sup>16</sup> Once-in-white-house belonged to the Natchitoches band from Louisiana, and White-bread to one of the Texas bands (Swanton 4: 205).

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 61, 62, 68 and Hatcher, XXXI, 155.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. Hatcher, XXX, 216; also Pawnee, Murie, 625, 630.

<sup>19</sup> Now, 1927, deceased.

<sup>20</sup> Giving for all one's mother's relations, *wante ina'kwiwa'ha*, and for all one's father's relations, *wante aakwiwa'ha*.



system, present or past. And yet, in 1890-1891, Mooney recorded among the Caddo the existence of clans, the names of which, as words merely, were verified by White Moon as follows:

	<i>Mooney</i>	<i>White Moon</i>
Sun	sûko	sako
Thunder	ka'găhănĭn	adihanin
Eagle	iwi	iwi'
Panther	kĭshi	kishi
Raccoon	oăt	ut'
Beaver	ta'o	t'ao'
Crow	ka'g'aih	kak'aih
Bear	na'wotsi	nao'tsi
Wolf	tasha	tasha <sup>21</sup>
Buffalo	ta'năhă	tanaha
or	or	
Alligator	koho'	kohuh

White Moon himself suggested that these names might have been the names of supernatural helpers, a relationship merely personal, entirely unrelated to kinship.<sup>22</sup> Possibly White Moon's theory of Mooney's data is correct.<sup>23</sup> Yet it is not unlikely that a clan system once existed. From as intensive study of the localized groups as can be made at a distance, it appears quite plainly that in several cases the principle of grouping is that of the maternal family<sup>24</sup> and the kinship nomenclature points to matronymy.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Also called *tsudachittsi*, sharp nose.

<sup>22</sup> Compare the account Ingkanish has given of the Beaver doctor, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Just as, analogously, the names of Pueblo Indian societies have sometimes been recorded as clan names. The Isletan Tiwa regularly refer to their matrilineal, non-exogamic, ceremonial groups as "clans."

No clanship system has been found among other Caddoan tribes. Among Shawnee it once existed but is now lost (Voegelin). Matrilineal clanship is general in the Southeast.

<sup>24</sup> Spier writes: "There are said to be no exogamous groups, but in conversation with my informant maternal affiliation seemed to be stressed."

<sup>25</sup> In 1912 Once-in-white-house (Caddo Jake) assured Swanton that there were several exogamic maternal clans. On the other hand White-bread stated that the clans which were Buffalo, Bear, Panther, Wolf and Beaver (in this order according to the strength of the animal) were neither exogamic or endogamic; if one married outside the clan the children all belonged to the woman's clan if it was "stronger," but if "weaker" then only the girls belonged to the maternal clan. Swanton suggests that the different bands may have had different usages, the eastern or Louisiana Caddo to whom Caddo Jake belonged having had strictly matrilineal clans, perhaps borrowed from the Creeks, and the western Caddo to whom White-bread belonged having had non-exogamous clans, in case of intermarriage not all the children inheriting from the same side (Swanton 4: 204-206).

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS<sup>26</sup>

a'a	father, <sup>27</sup> father's brother
ĩn'a'	mother, <sup>28</sup> mother's sister, wife of father's brother
iba't'	grandfather, <sup>29</sup> husband of father's sister
bakinchi <sup>30</sup>	grandchild, m. sp. <sup>31</sup>
ika'	grandmother <sup>32</sup>
ka'inchĩ <sup>33</sup>	grandchild, w. sp. <sup>34</sup>
iba'	mother's brother <sup>35</sup>
pa'tsi <sup>36</sup>	sister's child, m. sp. <sup>37</sup>
aha'i'	father's sister <sup>38</sup>
ine''	older brother, parallel cousin, of a male <sup>39</sup>
du'wi'	younger brother, parallel cousin, of a male <sup>40</sup>
du'wi't'iti	
kinit'iti	brother, parallel cousin, of a female <sup>41</sup>
or	
kinot'si	
iye'	older sister, parallel cousin, of a female <sup>42</sup>
t'a'hai''	sister, parallel cousin, of a male, <sup>43</sup> younger sister, parallel cousin, of a female
shahat'	cross-cousin (father's sister's children, <sup>44</sup> mother's brother's children)
or	

<sup>26</sup> All the following terms, except that for spouse, are used both vocatively and descriptively.

<sup>27</sup> á'a (Spier).

<sup>28</sup> ĩna'' (Spier).

<sup>29</sup> ebũ't (Spier working with a Caddo in Anadarko).

<sup>30</sup> Ingkanish. *bakenche* (Pardon).

<sup>31</sup> bũkkĩntc (Spier).

<sup>32</sup> ĩkũ'' (Spier).

<sup>33</sup> Ingkanish. *kaanche* (Pardon).

<sup>34</sup> kahanĩtc (Spier).

<sup>35</sup> eba'' (Spier).

<sup>36</sup> Ingkanish. *pa'tse* (Pardon).

<sup>37</sup> pa''tsĩ (Spier).

<sup>38</sup> áhai' (Spier).

<sup>39</sup> ĩne'tĩt (final syllable customarily dropped in this and following terms) (Spier). Spier does not distinguish between parallel and cross-cousin terms. But see below.

<sup>40</sup> tu'ĩtĩt (Spier).

<sup>41</sup> kĩ'nĩtĩt or kĩnĩtsĩ (Spier).

<sup>42</sup> ie (Spier).

<sup>43</sup> tai'ĩtĩt (Spier).

<sup>44</sup> White Moon and Pardon who says that cross-cousins may not use sibling terms. Ingkanish opines that they do use sibling terms and that *shahat'* is used only for distant cousins. This is Spier's conclusion, although *cahũ't* was given him also for cross-cousin.

shahat'iti	
hanin	reciprocal for junior relatives excepting siblings <sup>45</sup>
netsi'oiha <sup>46</sup>	my spouse, desc. <sup>47</sup>
iba'kin	father-in-law, son-in-law, desc.; <sup>48</sup> son-in-law, voc., <i>hanin</i>
chu'u'nu	mother-in-law, <sup>49</sup> daughter-in-law, <sup>50</sup> desc., wife of mother's brother <sup>50</sup>
ikwi	an alternative term, perhaps, for <i>chu'u'nu</i> ; stepmother <sup>51</sup> (Pardon)
da'hai'	sister-in-law, brother-in-law, <sup>52</sup> voc. and desc.

The following terms are used descriptively, reports Dr. Reichard, by a third person, *e.g.* *ničhagaiyu' sahsin*, White Moon, his mother.

Father	asin	(a'a') <sup>53</sup>
Mother	sahsin	(in'a')
Grandfather	bakin	(iba't')
Grandmother	ka'an	(ika')
Mother's brother	banin	(iba')
Father's sister	hawin	(aha'i')
Older brother of a male	nayin	(ine')
Younger brother of a male	yahdin	(du'wi')
Brother of a female	na'din	(kinit'iti)
Older sister of a female	yawin	(iye')
Younger sister of a female	dadin	(t'a'hai')
Sister of a male		
Cross-cousin (father's sister's child)	sakin	(shahat')

#### APPLICATION OF TERMS IN GENEALOGICAL TABLES

		<i>a'a</i> , father, father's brother
Gen. I, 42 >	Gen. I, 10	father
Gen. II, 65 >	Gen. II, 47	father
Gen. I, 42 >	Gen. I, 7	father's brother

<sup>45</sup> *wahad'in*, the child of *sa'kin* who is the child of *cahũ't*, a cousin in the speaker's generation related through a grandparent (Spier).

<sup>46</sup> *nepit'oiha*, his spouse.

<sup>47</sup> *nätsikwaĩ* (Spier).

<sup>48</sup> *ebak'in* (Spier).

<sup>49</sup> *inka'an* (Spier).

<sup>50</sup> *tcuhuánũ* (Spier).

<sup>51</sup> *ikwě'i* (Spier).

<sup>52</sup> *dahai'* (Spier).

<sup>53</sup> The descriptive (and vocative) term used by the first person is given in parentheses for comparison.



- Gen. II, 30 > Gen. II, 8 father's brother  
 Gen. II, 25 > Tom Shemamy, father's brother  
 brother of Gen. II, 7  
 Gen. III, 24 > Gen. III, 12 father's half brother (*a'atete*)  
 Gen. I, 61 > (in theory) father's father's brother's son  
 Gen. I, 30  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. II, 17 grandmother's husband. They lived in the  
 same house, whereas the father of Gen. I,  
 42 lived elsewhere. By Whites Gen. I, 42  
 was accounted the son of Gen. II, 17 and  
 given as a patronymic the name of Gen.  
 II, 17.  
 Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 5 a very old man who lives in her household,  
 his kinship is obscure to White Moon,  
 who lives in the same household.  
 Gen. II, 7 > Chief White- his "uncle" to whom he was apprentice in  
 bread the chieftaincy

The term is applied to chiefs and to supernaturals—*a'asa*, (R. *a'asagu*), Father Sun; God or Jesus, *a'aguna'ga'i*, father, doctor, powerful or strong (R.); *a'asikao*, Father Ear i.e. Peyote.

*ĩn'a'*, mother, mother's sister

- Gen. II, 37 > Gen. II, 15 mother  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 14 stepmother; also by her English name, Mar-  
 garet  
 Gen. II, 63 > Gen. II, 44 mother's sister  
 Gen. II, 57 > Gen. II, 35 (*ĩna't'iti*, little mother) mother's sister  
 Gen. II, 50 > Gen. II, 23 (*ĩna't'iti*) mother's sister  
 Gen. II, 45 > Gen. II, 15 maternal parallel cousin. The mothers of  
 Gen. II, 45 and Gen. II, 15 were parallel  
 cousins. Gen. II, 45, an orphan, was  
 brought up by Gen. II, 15.  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 45 (*ĩna't'iti*) maternal parallel cousin, for-  
 merly of the same household, Gen. II, 45  
 calling the household head whom Gen. II,  
 59 calls grandmother, mother.

The term is applied to the Earth.<sup>54</sup>

*iba't'*, grandfather

- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 2 father's father

<sup>54</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1096. Shawnee also say "Mother Earth" (Voegelin).

Gen. III, 31 > Gen. III, 4	father's father
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 16	mother's father
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 1	mother's father
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 17	mother's stepfather
Gen. III, 81 > Gen. III, 12	father's mother's brother
Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 51, 54	( <i>ibat'iti</i> , little grandfather) father's sister's daughter's daughter's son.
Gen. II, 57, 58 > Gen. II, 59	( <i>ibat'iti</i> ) mother's father's sister's daughter's son
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 51, 54	( <i>ibat'iti</i> ) mother's mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son ("Because I [Gen. II, 59] call their mother <i>ika't'iti</i> .")
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 7	mother's mother's father's sister's daughter's husband
Gen. II, 45, 59, 63 > Gen. II, 5	a very old man who lives in the household of one called mother or grandmother and who calls Gen. II, 5, father.

The term is applied to Fire, *ibatnigu'* (R.), Grandfather Fire; also to Sun.<sup>55</sup>

*bakinchi*, grandchild, m. sp.

Gen. III, 4 > Gen. III, 31	son's daughter, m. sp.
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 76-79	sister's daughter's children, m. sp.
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 81	sister's son's son, m. sp.
	<i>ika'</i> , grandmother
Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 1	father's mother
Gen. III, 24 > Gen. III, 3	father's mother
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 15	mother's mother
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 2	mother's mother
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 6	mother's mother's father's sister's daughter
Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 23, 25	( <i>ika't'iti</i> , little grandmother) father's sister's daughter's daughter
Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 53	( <i>ika't'iti</i> ) father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 23, 25	( <i>ika't'iti</i> ) mother's mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter
Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 53	( <i>ika't'iti</i> ) mother's mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter

This term is applied to Thunder, *igahabaganaswa*, grandmother (plural) making a noise (R.) i.e. Grandmother Noise-maker.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Shawnee also say "Grandfather Sun" (Voegelin).

<sup>56</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1097, 1099.



*ka'inch*i, grandchild, w. sp.

- Gen. III, 3 > Gen. III, 24 son's son, w. sp.  
*iba'*, mother's brother
- Gen. II, 57 > Gen. II, 30 mother's brother  
 Gen. III, 44 > Gen. III, 12 mother's brother  
 Gen. II, 57 > Gen. II, 34 (*iba't'iti*, little mother's brother) mother's brother
- Gen. II, 63 > Gen. II, 48 (*iba't'iti*) mother's brother  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 12 mother's mother's brother  
 Gen. I, 49 > Gen. I, 10 parallel cousin removed. The mother of Gen. I, 49 called Gen. I, 10, brother.
- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 17 father's sister's husband  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 19 father's sister's husband  
*pa'tsi*, sister's child, m. sp.
- Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 44 sister's daughter, m. sp.  
 Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 48 sister's son, m. sp.  
*aha'i'*, father's sister
- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 15 father's sister  
 Gen. II, 30 > Gen. II, 15 father's sister  
 Gen. III, 37 > Gen. III, 14 (*ahaitete*, father's little sister) father's sister  
 Gen. I, 51 > Gen. I, 28 (*aha'i't'iti*, father's little sister) father's sister; also *ina't'iti*
- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 21 parallel cousin removed. The father of Gen. I, 42 called Gen. I, 21, sister.  
*ine''*, older brother of a male, parallel cousin
- Gen. II, 12 > Gen. I, 8 older brother  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 37 older half brother  
 Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 6 older half brother  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 30 father's brother's son. Gen. I, 30 is actually senior to Gen. I, 42; but Gen. I, 42 (White Moon) stated that he called Gen. I, 30, Haninshu'wi, older brother *not* because Haninshu'wi was his senior, but because Haninshu'wi's father was senior to White Moon's father. This is borne out by:
- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 34 father's brother's son, actually younger than Gen. I, 42
- Gen. III, 33 > Gen. III, 24 father's brother's son (*inehtete*)  
 Gen. II, 51, 54 > Gen. II, 50 mothers sister's son  
 Gen. I, 61 > (in theory) father's father's brother's son's son  
 Gen. I, 55

Gen. II, 63 > Gen. II, 59	parallel cousin removed
Gen. III, 37 > Gen. III, 48	father's sister's son (?)
$\left. \begin{array}{l} du'wi' \\ du'wi't'iti \end{array} \right\}$	younger brother, parallel cousin of a male
Gen. II, 8 > Gen. II, 12	younger brother
Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 44	younger half brother
Gen. III, 6 > Gen. III, 12	younger half brother ( <i>toitete</i> )
Gen. I, 30 > Gen. I, 42	father's brother's son
Gen. I, 34 > Gen. I, 42	father's brother's son, actually older than Gen. I, 35
Gen. III, 24 > Gen. III, 33	father's brother's son ( <i>toitete</i> )
Gen. I, 59 > Gen. I, 61	parallel cousin removed
Gen. III, 48 > Gen. III, 39	mother's brother's son ( <i>toitete</i> ), (?)
$\left. \begin{array}{l} kinit'iti \\ kinot'si \end{array} \right\}$	brother, parallel cousin of a female
Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 8, 11	brother
Gen. III, 14 > Gen. III, 12	brother ( <i>kin̄tete</i> )
Gen. III, 31 > Gen. III, 33	brother ( <i>kin̄tete</i> )
Gen. I, 53 > Gen. I, 54	mother's sister's son
Gen. III, 31 > Gen. III, 24	father's brother's son ( <i>kin̄tete</i> )
Gen. I, 21 > Gen. I, 10	parallel cousin
Gen. II, 64 > Gen. II, 59	parallel cousin removed
	<i>ieye'</i> , older sister of a female <sup>57</sup>
Gen. I, 15 > Gen. I, 3	older sister
Gen. I, 28 > Gen. I, 26	( <i>ieye't'iti</i> , little older sister) older sister
Gen. II, 36 > Gen. II, 35	( <i>ieye't'iti</i> ) older sister
Gen. III, 35 > Gen. III, 31	( <i>iyetete</i> ) older sister
<i>t'a'hai''</i> ( <i>dahai''</i> ), sister of a male, younger sister of a female, parallel cousin	
Gen. I, 7 > Gen. I, 3	sister, m. sp.
Gen. II, 12 > Gen. II, 15	( <i>dahai''t'iti</i> , little sister) sister, m. sp.
Gen. II, 54 > Gen. II, 53, 55	( <i>dahai''t'iti</i> ) sister, m. sp.
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 14	( <i>tahaitete</i> ) sister, m. sp.
Gen. III, 33 > Gen. III, 31	( <i>tahaitete</i> ) sister, m. sp.
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 22	( <i>sashidaii</i> , (?) "little sister") sister, 22 is the youngest girl in the family
Gen. I, 14 > Gen. I, 25	younger sister, w. sp.
Gen. III, 31 > Gen. III, 35	( <i>tahaitete</i> ) younger sister, w. sp.
Gen. III, 24 > Gen. III, 31	father's brother's daughter, m. sp. ( <i>tahai- tete</i> )

<sup>57</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1097. Applied by woman Ghost dance singer to trance personage, Evening Star.

- Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 32 father's sister's daughter, m. sp.  
 Gen. I, 54 > Gen. I, 53 mother's sister's daughter, m. sp.  
 Gen. I, 7 > Gen. I, 21 parallel cousin  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 64 (*dahai''t'iti*) parallel cousin removed  
                                   *shahat'*, cross-cousin (father's sister's children)  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 26 father's sister's daughter  
 Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 6 father's sister's daughter  
 Gen. II, 30 > Gen. II, 37 father's sister's daughter  
 Gen. I, 30 > Gen. I, 24 father's sister's son  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 24 (*shahat'iti*) father's sister's son  
 Gen. II, 30, 32, 36 > Gen. II, 59 (*shahat'iti*) father's sister's daughter's son.  
   Gen. II, 30, 32 are actually older than  
   Gen. II, 59. Here we would expect Gen.  
   II, 59 to be called "little grandfather"  
   since he is the son of one called *shahat'*;  
   but see p. 13 n. 44.  
 Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 49 father's parallel cousin's daughter, actually  
   younger than Gen. I, 42  
   *hanin*, child, junior reciprocal  
 Gen. I, 10 > Gen. I, 42 son  
 Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 37 daughter  
 Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 59 grandson  
 Gen. II, 17 > Gen. II, 59 step-grandson  
 Gen. I, 15 > Gen. I, 42 brother's son, w. sp.  
 Gen. III, 14 > Gen. III, 37 brother's son, w. sp. (*hanintete*)  
 Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 24 half brother's son, m. sp.  
 Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 31 half brother's daughter, m. sp.  
 Gen. II, 8 > Gen. II, 37 sister's daughter, m. sp.  
 Gen. II, 8 > Gen. II, 59 sister's daughter's son, m. sp.  
 Gen. I, 24 > Gen. I, 30 mother's brother's son  
 Gen. II, 37 > Gen. II, 30 mother's brother's son  
 Gen. II, 6 > Gen. II, 15 mother's brother's daughter  
 Gen. II, 23, 25 > Gen. II, 15 mother's mother's brother's daughter  
 Gen. II, 45 > Gen. II, 59 parallel cousin removed  
 Gen. I, 49 > Gen. II, 42 mother's parallel male cousin's son  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 30 mother's mother's brother's son, actually  
   older than Gen. II, 59  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 32 mother's mother's brother's daughter, actu-  
   ally older than Gen. II, 59  
 Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 36 mother's mother's brother's daughter

This application with the two preceding illustrate how the same cousin



term is applied to all in a given set of *geschwister*, irrespective of their ages in relation to the age of the speaker. Here all are called *hanin*, just as all call the speaker *shahat'*. Had the speaker *geschwister*, all of them, too, would be called *shahat'*.

Gen. II, 59 > Gen. II, 57, 58 (*hanint'iti*) mother's mother's brother's daughter's son

Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 51 (*hanint'iti*) father's sister's son's daughter.  
This is a theoretical application, and given dubiously, as one might expect in view of the double cross-cousinship involved. In practice the personal name is used.

Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 25 half brother's son's wife

The term may be used in a general sense, thus Chu''u (Gen. II, 15) calls Inkinishit'iti, Little white-man, *hanin inkinish*, white-man child.

*netsi'oiha*, my spouse, desc.

Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 18 husband

Gen. II, 15 > Gen. II, 17 deceased husband

Gen. II, 18 > Gen. II, 15 wife

*iba'kin*, father-in-law, son-in-law, desc.

This term may be used by male or female; it is applied to males only. Between males it is a reciprocal term.

Gen. I, 37 > Gen. I, 10 father-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. I, 31 > Gen. I, 7 father-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. III, 38 > Gen. III, 12 father-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. I, 17 > Gen. I, 7 father-in-law, m. sp.

Gen. I, 9 > Gen. I, 17 son-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. II, 15 > Gen. I, 38 son-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. I, 7 > Gen. I, 17 son-in-law, m. sp.

*chu'u'nu*, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, desc.

This term may be used by male or female; it is applied to women only. Between females it is a reciprocal term.

Gen. I, 45 > Gen. I, 14 mother-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. I, 17 > Gen. I, 9 mother-in-law, m. sp.

Gen. I, 9 > Gen. I, 28 step-daughter-in-law, w. sp.

Gen. I, 7 > Gen. I, 31 daughter-in-law, m. sp.; in address, *hanin*

Gen. I, 10 > Gen. I, 37 daughter-in-law, m. sp.

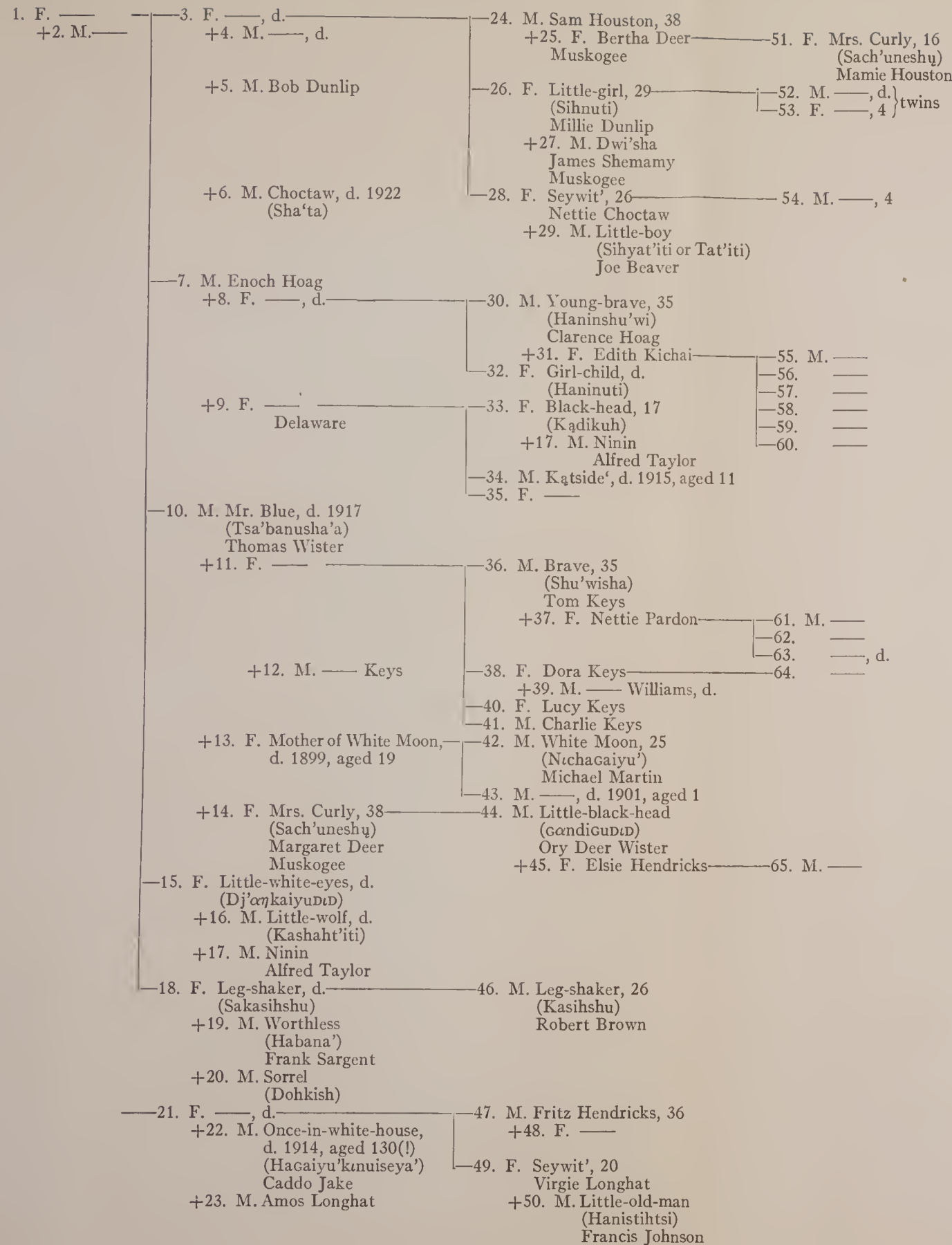
Gen. III, 12 > Gen. III, 38 daughter-in-law, m. sp. (*chu'uno*)

Gen. I, 42 > Gen. I, 9 wife of father's brother

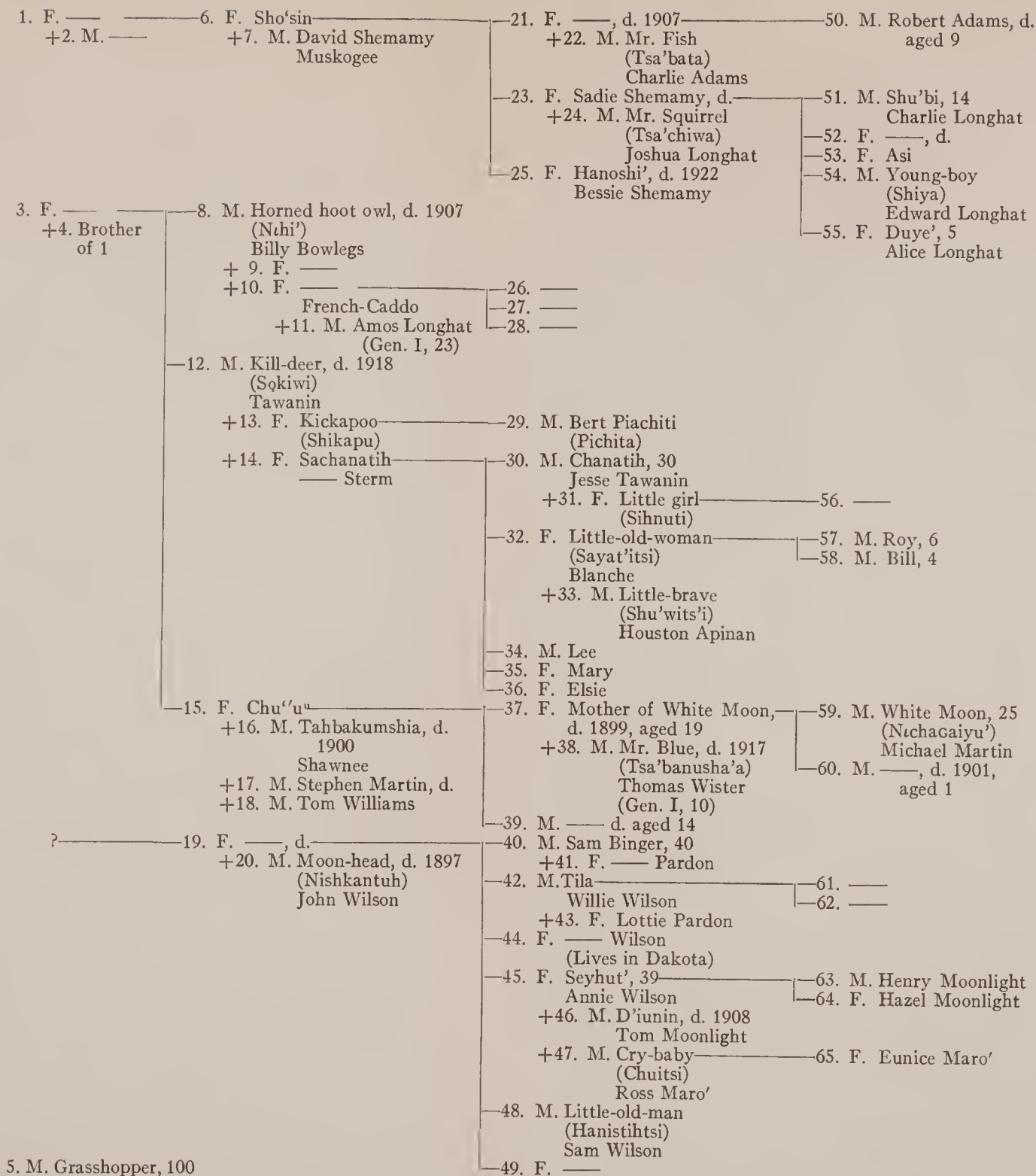




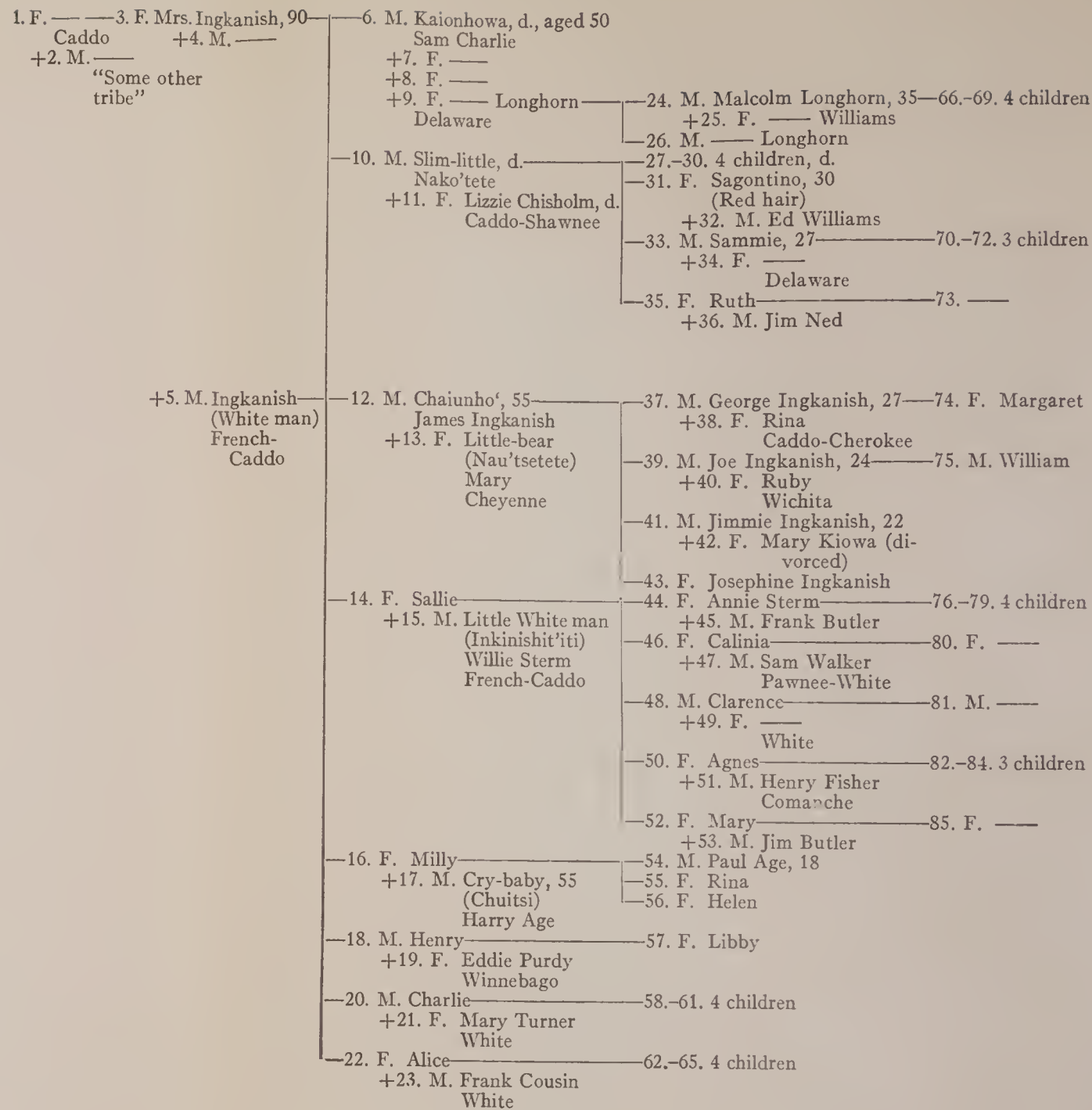
# GENEALOGY I



# GENEALOGY II



# GENEALOGY III



Gen. I, 45 >	Gen. I, 9	wife of husband's father's brother
Gen. I, 9 >	Gen. I, 45	wife of husband's brother's son
Gen. II, 59 >	Gen. II, 10	wife of mother's mother's brother

*ikwi*, affinity term applied to women of another generation than that of speaker, desc.

From the following application of this term it appears to be equivalent to *chu'u'nu*; but my informant denied this, quite evidently feeling a distinction without being able to point it out either in theory or in application.

Gen. I, 45 >	Gen. I, 14	mother-in-law, w. sp.
Gen. I, 17 >	Gen. I, 9	mother-in-law, m. sp.
Gen. I, 42 >	Gen. I, 9	wife of father's brother
Gen. II, 59 >	Gen. II, 14	wife of mother's mother's brother
Gen. I, 7 >	Gen. I, 31	daughter-in-law, m. sp.

*da'hai'*, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, voc. and desc.

This term is reciprocal.

Gen. I, 17 >	Gen. I, 30	wife's brother
Gen. I, 30 >	Gen. I, 17	husband of sister, m. sp.
Gen. II, 43 >	Gen. II, 40	husband's brother
Gen. I, 45 >	Gen. I, 42	husband's half brother
Gen. III, 9 >	Gen. III, 12	husband's half brother, ( <i>dahaiye</i> )
Gen. II, 40 >	Gen. II, 43	wife of brother, m. sp.
Gen. I, 42 >	Gen. I, 45	wife of half brother, m. sp.
Gen. III, 12 >	Gen. III, 9	wife of half brother, m. sp. ( <i>dahaiye</i> )
Gen. I, 31 >	Gen. I, 33	husband's sister
Gen. I, 33 >	Gen. I, 31	wife of brother, w. sp.
Gen. I, 24 >	Gen. I, 14	wife's sister. She is also his mother's brother's wife
Gen. I, 14 >	Gen. I, 24	sister's husband, w. sp.
Gen. I, 31 >	Gen. I, 42	husband's father's brother's son
Gen. I, 42 >	Gen. I, 31	wife of father's brother's son
Gen. I, 23 >	Gen. I, 10	wife's parallel cousin

Expressed in the nomenclature is the forked merging kinship system, collateral kin being merged with lineal, and paternal and maternal collaterals in the parent generation being distinguished, through separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister.<sup>58</sup> Father's brother is classed with father, and mother's sister with mother. In the grandparent generation

<sup>58</sup> In the other Caddoan kinship terminologies as recorded by Morgan there is no separate term for father's sister who is called mother (Morgan, Table II).



there is no distinction between paternal and maternal kin. Parallel cousins, offspring of two brothers or of two sisters are referred to by sibling terminology; but for cross-cousins, offspring of a sister and a brother, there is a distinctive term.

The sibling or cousin nomenclature, I may say incidentally, was quite difficult to work out, as White Moon persistently assumed that the Indian and the English systems were the same. It was only through testing by the genealogical tables that the differentiation became clear first to me, then to him. And then one of the genealogical tables, in one case, had to be revised, a woman who had been described as a father's sister having to be re-classified as a parallel cousin. As for the principles of seniority which prevail, as we are to see, in this part of the nomenclature the testing had to proceed bit by bit—White Moon said it made his head feel like the map of Oklahoma which happened to be stretched out in front of him, a kind of razzle dazzle, and it was the hardest work he had ever done. The effect on him when he was set to analyze his own kinship terms through exact comparison with another system was quite as bewildering as that on the novice among us.

As for cousins beyond the first degree, evidence was still more difficult to get. Beyond saying that any one your father called brother, or your mother called sister, you would call father, and his son, brother; or you would call mother, and her son brother, White Moon was frequently at a loss.<sup>59</sup> As he calls the younger generation by their given names with a few striking exceptions, definite cases of cousin terminology were scarce.

In the sibling nomenclature the principle of seniority is an outstanding feature. There are distinctive terms for the older sister of a female and for the older brother of a male.<sup>60</sup> In the application of the sibling terms to parallel cousins it is the respective ages of the parents, not of the speakers, which is the determinant.<sup>61</sup> In the application of the cross-cousin terms the children

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<sup>59</sup> Similarly, he thought that any one your father called sister, or your mother, brother, you would call *aha'i'* or *iba'*.

<sup>60</sup> Cp. Choctaw (Swanton 3: 85, 86) and Mandan (Lowie 1: 14). In the other Caddoan nomenclatures there is no distinction of seniority in respect to females. Grand Pawnee have a distinctive term for the oldest brother, w. sp.; Arikara have distinctive terms for the oldest brother and for the "first younger" brother, m. and w. sp. (Morgan, Table II).

<sup>61</sup> The application of the terms according to the genealogical tables are in evidence; but on this point White Moon was not at all uncertain: asked, for example, the hypothetical question: "Suppose Nettie (Gen. I, 28) has a daughter ten years old, and Millie (Gen. I, 26) has a daughter five years old, what would Nettie's daughter call Millie's daughter?" he answered at once, "*Iyel'ili*, little older sister, because Millie is older than Nettie." Spier states that seniority is based on the respective age of the spaker.

of the sister are accounted senior to the children of the brother<sup>62</sup> i.e. seniority is imputed to the female line, and this imputation persists for cross-cousins several times removed, the "senior" cross-cousins removed going by the grandparent terms.

The use of a suffix meaning little (*t'iti*, abbreviated to *t'*, or *ts'i*) is very common to distinguish between persons in the same kinship class, e.g. between mother and mother's sister or any one your mother calls sister, or, by a man, between older sister and younger sister or between a senior maternal uncle and a junior or between a senior paternal aunt and a junior; and to denote the cross-cousins removed who go by the grandparent terms. The diminutive appears to be used to denote positive age also, age up to about eighteen, according to White Moon, but in general this suffix is, I surmise, loosely used. Ingkanish applied it as follows: *a'atete*, father's brother; *ina'tete*, mother's sister; *ahaitete*, father's younger sister; *tahaitete*, *iyetete*, sister terms. Pardon used *a'atete* for stepfather, as well as for father's younger brother—father's older brother he called *a'ahai'me*, father big. For mother's brother, second brother, *ibatete*.

The term for "child," *hanin*,<sup>63</sup> is the usual reciprocal for descendants, lineal and collateral. The special terms for grandchild and sister's child, m. sp. may be passing out, as White Moon did not know them.

The only true reciprocals occur in the affinity terms, of which there are three: two between two different generations, and one within the same generation. White Moon and Pardon knew no term for the spouse of the offspring of the father's sister. Pardon opined that the husband of the mother's sister was called *a'atete*, little father; the wife of the father's brother, *ina*, mother; and the wife of the mother's brother, *chu'unu*, mother-in-law.

The latter affinity term shows neither the sex of the speaker nor of the person spoken to or of. The affinity terms between different generations show the sex of the person spoken to or of. In the sibling terms the sex of the person addressed is expressed, and, except in the case of addressing a younger sister, the sex of the speaker. Difference of sex between speaker and person spoken of is expressed only in the sibling terms (term for younger sister excepted). In the cross-cousin term sex is entirely unexpressed.

<sup>62</sup> Compare for a similar practice of classifying cross-cousins in generations different from the speaker's (Lowie 1: 27, 59, 89), for Crow and Hidatsa; also, citing Morgan, for Moskogean (Choctaw) and Pawnee (Lowie 2: 341). By Pawnee the father's sister's offspring are called father or mother, and the mother's brother's offspring, child (Morgan, Table II). Offspring of the father's sister's offspring are called brother or sister, not as in Caddo, grandfather or grandmother.

<sup>63</sup> *hanĩ'*, son, daughter, brother's child, w. sp. (Spier).



There are no special terms for half brothers or sisters or, as far as I can learn, for stepfather. In referring to relatives by affinity there is, in one verbal expression at least, a difference of stress. "Where is she (or he)?" referring to a relative by affinity is *kwidi'ia* which is pronounced *kwid'ia* when referring to relatives by blood or to unrelated persons.<sup>64</sup>

#### AGE-CLASS TERMS

<i>gayotsi</i>	baby
<i>sihyat'iti</i>	boy under ten
<i>tat'iti</i>	
<i>sihnuti</i>	girl under ten
<i>nutyit'it'i</i>	
<i>tishiyatsi</i>	boy, about ten and over
<i>tinuti</i>	girl, about ten and over
<i>shiyatsi</i>	youth, eighteen or twenty
<i>nutitsi</i>	maiden, eighteen or twenty
<i>hanistih</i>	mature or old man
<i>sayatih</i>	mature or old woman

#### JOKING RELATIONSHIP: RESPECT

Between relations by marriage within the same generation, i.e. between those who call each other *da'hai'*, there is a joking relationship<sup>65</sup> (*tsimbakanishia*, I joke<sup>66</sup> with him, with her) as well as with one kind of cousin you call "sister," *dahai'*. More explicit on this parallel cousinship White Moon could not be, unfortunately, except that it was farther away than first cousinship.<sup>67</sup> The jokes are largely conjugal and economic. A man might say to his sister-in-law that he had seen her husband with another woman, or a woman might say to her brother-in-law that she had seen his wife with another man. To a woman, a man might also say, "I hear that you are a poor cook." To a man a woman might say, "I have heard that you don't know how to plough." The retort must be in joke.

There is no parent-in-law taboo such as occurs among the neighboring

<sup>64</sup> Possibly this linguistic distinction points to some obsolete practice of avoidance. Compare the Hidatsa expression of avoidance by the use of the third person plural (Lowie 1: 48).

<sup>65</sup> The joking relationship between a brother-in-law and sister-in-law occurs among Wichita (Spier, 261), among Shawnee and many other Eastern tribes (Voegelin) and among Crow, Hidatsa, Arapaho, Blackfoot, etc. (Lowie 1: 94).

<sup>66</sup> There is no other term for joke, and this term is confined exclusively to this stereotype.

<sup>67</sup> In an inter-clan marriage, the near relatives on each side could make fun of, and play pranks upon each other (Informant, White-bread—Swanton 4: 204).



Plains tribes;<sup>68</sup> but in the presence of his parents-in-law a man may not swear or make sex jokes.<sup>69</sup> As for avoidance of parents-in-law Pardon considers it "foolishness." He has a relative whose father is an Arapaho. This man when he goes to visit his father's people would play practical jokes in connection with the Arapaho rule to avoid a mother-in-law. If somebody asked him, "Where is mother-in-law?" in order to avoid her, Pardon would send the questioner in the woman's direction. Then, when the woman asked, "Where is son-in-law?" Pardon would send her in the direction of her son-in-law, so that the two would be sure to meet.

#### NAMING

To an infant a name is given in the family, by any relative, maternal or paternal.<sup>70</sup> White Moon (R. Nɪchagaiyu') does not know the relative who gave him this name. The infant name may continue in use or it may be supplanted by a later name, perhaps the name of the being acquired as a guardian spirit, as in the case of Nɪhi', Horned-hoot-owl or, probably, of Moon-head, or by a name given quite as a nickname, as in the case of K'akitsaiyet', Chewed-up or Ba'tshush, Tail-cut-off, who was in boyhood attacked by a bear; of Hina'kahdi, Snow-chief, from his snow white hair; or of White Moon's father who is called Tsa'banusha'a, Mr. Blue, from his skill in painting.<sup>71</sup> His father's infant name White Moon does not know. The infant name may be itself of the nature of a nickname, as, for example, in the case of GɔndigudɪD (R.), Little-black-head, so named because when he was little his hair was very black, presumably at birth, or in the case of Dj'ɔŋkaiyudɪD (little white round things, R.), Anglicized Little-white-eyes, who had gray eyes. Age class terms are used not uncommonly as given names—Little-girl, Little-boy; and, in one case, *shiyatsi*, young-man, is a surname.

There are several personal names, in the genealogical tables or in the partial house census, from other languages or referring to other peoples—Kɔtside' (Gen. I, 34) is a Delaware word (the boy's mother was Delaware); Piachiti, by Caddo rendered Pichita (Gen. II, 29), a Kickapoo name (the boy's mother was Kickapoo). Note also Inkinishit'iti, Little-white-man,<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Or among Choctaw (Swanton 3: 129), but in the East parent-in-law taboos were not as common as on the Plains (Voegelin).

<sup>69</sup> Spier's informant affirmed that "conversation is tabooed between parents-in-law and children-in-law except in cases of serious need."

This taboo is marked among Wichita (Spier, 261).

<sup>70</sup> Cp. Dorsey 2: 39.

<sup>71</sup> More probably, I surmise, from his connection with the Ghost dance, see p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> The etymology of the term *inkinish* (*ingkanish*) for White man is obscure. A White is

Ingkanish (Gen. III, 5) (the name-bearer's father being White), Washish (Osage), a Caddo despite his name; Tsa'wetsita (Mr. Wichita), Shikapu't'iti, and Sha'ta (the name-bearers being in fact Wichita, Kickapoo, and Choctaw). Tahbakumshia (Gen. II, 16) is a Shawnee name, the name-bearer being a Shawnee. The father of Edith Kichai (Gen. I, 31) was named Kitsaiish (from which Kichai is Anglicized) merely because he looked like these people.

As in the foregoing case, patronymics have come into use; although erratically, not always describing the paternal relation. For example, at the Catholic mission school which White Moon went to as a little boy he was given Martin as a patronymic, the name of the second husband of his grandmother, his mother's mother, with whom he lived—Michael Martin was White Moon's school name, although his father's English name was Thomas Wister. The eldest son of Thomas Wister took as patronymic the name of his mother's second husband, Keys.<sup>73</sup> Sam Binger (Gen. II, 40) takes not the patronymic of his brother and sisters, but as his patronymic the name of the town about which he used to hang. Of the youngest generation most have no Indian name. Frequently the English name becomes Caddoized, e.g. Michael becomes Maika; Vincent, Binsin; Levi, Nibaihi.

The prefix *sa* for a female, *tsa'* for a male, is used as a title and translated Miss or Mr.—“Sir,” we might translate, as, for example, in *tsa'i'nigu* (R. *i'nigu'*, mountain or prayer), the term for a Christian cleric—Sir priest; or in *tsa'shiadinana* (braid-down-back), the term for Chinaman—Sir Chinaman; or in *tsa'niotsi*, Sir Cry-baby, a nickname borne by three men of whom one is a White married to an Indian. *Tsa'* may be omitted; were *sa* omitted the inference would be that you were referring to a male i.e. *sa* is never omitted; just as in English usage the patronymic alone is not used for a woman. But even with these prefixes of respect you are supposed not to call your seniors by name. “It almost kills people older than you if you call them by name.” In this respect it is significant that White Moon does not know his mother's name. (Nor did Pardon know his grandfather's Indian name.) She died when she was nineteen, during his infancy, and White Moon's grandmother, her mother, has always referred to her by the junior reciprocal, *hanin*.

And yet, his stepmother, Margaret Deer, White Moon will call Margaret, she calling him, Maika (Mike). And White Moon calls by name Ross

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also called *hanu* (abbreviated from *hayanu*) *haGaiyu'*, human, white, in distinction to the term for Indian, *hayanu atinu'*, human, red.

<sup>73</sup> White Moon insists that Keys is the son of Wister, but White Moon does not refer to Keys as brother, nor was Keys an heir to Wister's land.



Maro', although Ross is the husband of one called "little mother." But Ross is a contemporary of White Moon, and Margaret Deer belongs to the younger rather than to the older generation. In the younger generation the use of names is habitual.

There is no reluctance, according to White Moon and Pardon, to refer to the dead by name. Ingkanish denied this, adding that he himself, however, did not entertain the reluctance.

There are two instances in the genealogies of mother and son having the same name—Kasihshu (Gen. I, 18, 46), and Chanatih (Gen. II, 14, 30). Whether the son was named from the mother or mother from son, White Moon does not know. His suggestion that the mother might well have been named from the son indicates some expression of teknonymy with which in general he seems not unfamiliar. The mother of one Vincent Johnson is referred to as Sabinsin, a positive case of teknonymy. There is no case of a man being referred to by the name of his offspring.

A woman may be referred to by her husband's name e.g. Sawashish, "Mrs." Osage, the wife of Washish.

#### INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH: COMRADESHIP

Boys were sent every morning to bathe in the river, even through the ice.<sup>74</sup>

The boys would shoot birds and a little boy liked to show his birds to his grandmother.

The older woman in the family would talk to both the girls and the boys about how to take care of themselves. White Moon remembers that his grandmother told him he was not to interfere in other people's affairs. "That feeling grows in. . . I don't want to fool with anybody's business and I don't want them to fool with mine." A boy used to be told that he was not to marry until he could kill a deer<sup>75</sup> and skin it; "now it is different," said Grandmother Chu'u to White Moon, "but still you should not marry until you can help support a wife." And she also talked to him about not showing jealousy in public.<sup>76</sup> I infer she had opinions about not "going to extremes" (see pp. 52-53). If he got into a fight, said his grandmother, and was shot in the back she would feel very bad about it, but if in the front, she would

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<sup>74</sup> Like Shawnee, the Delaware sent their children, boys and girls, from eight years upwards, into the brush to get a supernatural partner. Of his daily river bath, Pardon, Caddo, Delaware, remarked, "I never got any partner from it, only rheumatism."

The early morning bath in running water was universal in the Southeast (Swanton 2: 699).

<sup>75</sup> Ten deer (Pardon).

<sup>76</sup> See p. 30.

feel bad but yet proud—a Plainslike flourish. "We sure do think a great deal about being brave," added White Moon.

Formerly systematic instruction about behavior on war parties was given to the boys by their senior relatives, sometimes by their father, generally by their grandfather, in the evening. The youths had to collect wood and keep up a big fire while "getting their lectures."—According to Ingkanish, boys were supposed to listen even more to their uncle (mother's brother)<sup>77</sup> than to their father. A boy, whatever his age, was not to answer back to his uncle or father, especially if the senior was a warrior or a doctor. If the boy spat, the elder knew he was not listening and would stop talking. Nowadays, "you can't talk to the boys," they do not listen to you.

On the return of a war party with a scalp (*ba'at*), the scalp was left outside the camp until the scalp dance, but scalps were kept permanently in a "grass house"<sup>78</sup> which was closed up and dark. If a little boy, a youngster of three or four, showed himself quarrelsome and mean to the other children, he would be taken into the "grass house," to test his courage. In the "grass house" he would hear voices (Ingkanish).<sup>79</sup>

After a man had fought<sup>80</sup> against the enemy together with another man the two might become friends, *tesha*, which was the same as brother. Thereafter, if your *tesha* was in danger, you stood by him to the death, "never leave him."<sup>81</sup> If your *tesha* asked you for anything you had, you would have to give it to him, otherwise the relationship would break on the spot. This *tesha* relationship was held also between women. They would help each other in sickness or other emergency.

#### MARRIAGE: CHILD-BEARING: SEX DISTINCTIONS

Several mixed marriages or lineages appear in the genealogies. Chu'u's first husband, White Moon's maternal grandfather (Gen. II, 16), was a Shawnee. Enoch Hoag's wife is Delaware (Gen. I, 9), and one of his sisters married a man "part Delaware," Ninin or Alfred Taylor (Gen. I, 17, 34). Another sister married a Choctaw (Gen. I, 6). Margaret and Bertha Deer (Gen. I, 14, 25) are Muskogean (Mashkoki). The first wife (Gen. II, 13) of Kill-deer was a Kickapoo. The widow of Billy Bowlegs (and wife of Amos Longhat) (Gen. II, 10) is half French (Kanosh).<sup>82</sup> The father of Chanatih (Gen. II, 30) is a French Caddo named Sterm (? Stern). Listed in the house

<sup>77</sup> See p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> The aboriginal Caddo house was thatched with grass (Swanton 2: 688); the ceremonial house was entirely covered with grass (Joutel, 345).

<sup>79</sup> For these spirit voices, cp. Hatcher, XXX, 291–292.

<sup>80</sup> "The Caddo never used shields."

<sup>81</sup> Cp. Grinnell, 46–47, 49.

<sup>82</sup> *Kanosh Kadi'tidaa*, French Caddo.



census (App.) appear other mixed marriages. On Boggy Creek live Bessie Wolf married to a White man, and Red-head married to a White woman. A daughter of Snow-chief is married to a White man. The first wife of Tom Williams was White. The daughter of Mrs. Peach-orchard is married to a Wichita. In Binger lives Bangs-cut-off married to Shikapu't'iti (Little Kickapoo), a Kickapoo. The first wife of Henry Ingkanish (Gen. III, 18) of Anadarko was an Arapaho; his second wife (1922) is a Cheyenne.<sup>83</sup> The wife of James Ingkanish is a Cheyenne. The plural wife (see p. 52) of Moon-head was a Quapaw, and so was Vincent Johnson's first wife from whom he separated.

A few Caddo are married away: Ada Longhorn married to a Comanche, and living near Lawton; Simon Blackstar married successively to two Kiowa women, and living near Apache.

To none of these mixed marriages was there, according to White Moon, any objection, and there is no objection in theory to marrying out of the tribe. Disinclination there probably is, at any rate it appeared on White Moon's part when I asked him why there were not more marriages between Caddo and Wichita, the closest neighbors to the Caddo—we had noted but one Wichita-Caddo marriage. "The Wichita are not good looking, we don't like their looks. Many of them limp. Besides they dress different. The Caddo wear American clothes, the Wichita just wrap around a piece of calico."<sup>84</sup> Between Osage and Caddo there is no instance of intermarriage, nor between Apache and Caddo.

There is no suggestion of endogamy within the Caddo tribal divisions, nor of exogamy into the other division. Between Sugar Creek people and Fort Cobb people several marriages are recorded, just as are marriages within the division. Cousin exogamy there is. Cousin marriage is not a good marriage, on the father's side as well as on the mother's; but it is impossible for White Moon to formulate to what degree cousinship is an obstacle to marriage.<sup>85</sup> None of the "cousins" at Kudadosa (Genealogy II) would inter-

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<sup>83</sup> In 1927 he is married to a Winnebago (Gen. III, 19). Here is an instance where previous marriages were not reported. There are probably other instances. Henry Ingkanish was employed at Riverside School, which may account for his foreign marriages.

<sup>84</sup> The only murder White Moon could recall was of a Caddo by a Wichita. Little-wolf (Gen. I, 16), the first husband of White Moon's father's sister, was stabbed by Percy Sidoka, a Wichita, in a gambling row over a card game (*mahdi*). A relative by marriage (Little-wolf's wife's father's brother) tried to kill the Wichita on the spot, but the Caddo present interfered, saying that perhaps his "son-in-law" was not yet dead. Then the Wichita escaped. Subsequently in the American court he was discharged.

<sup>85</sup> Spier formulates as follows: "One cannot marry cross or parallel-cousins, nor any *cahŭ't* (presumably a cousin in the speaker's generation related through a grandparent), *sa'kin* (child of *cahŭ't*), *wahadŭn* (child of *sa'kin*), or their children."

marry. And some of these cousins, for example Gen. II, 55 and 57, are related as cross-cousins removed. For himself White Moon would not marry any of the cousins tabulated in Genealogies I and II. He seems to go largely in this matter by the kinship terms he applies to the parents of the cousin cited, and to be quite certain that he would not marry the children of any one he calls "mother," "father," "uncle" (mother's brother) or "aunt" (father's sister). He can not instance any cousin marriage among his acquaintances. But he added, "I expect there are some though."

It is proper enough for a widower to marry any relative of his deceased wife, or for a widow to marry any relative of her deceased husband. A case is cited of the marriage of one Johnson Coffee to the widow of his brother, Robert Coffee—about a year later. Otherwise there is no evidence of levirate. Nor is there any evidence of preference for marriage with a deceased wife's sister.<sup>86</sup> A case is recorded of a man marrying his deceased wife's niece (brother's daughter) (Gen. I, 17).

For six or seven months the widowed should not remarry.

According to the genealogies, marriage is fairly brittle, at least in the older generation. Enoch Hoag's eldest sister was thrice married and from her second husband, at least, she separated. Enoch Hoag's brother, Mr. Blue, was also thrice married, separating from his first wife, who also remarried. In the same family connection, Mrs. Leg-shaker married twice, separated from her first husband; and the wife of Chief Once-in-white-house separated from him and remarried. The first wife of Horned-hoot-owl separated and married the same man Horned-hoot-owl's widow also married. Kill-deer and his first wife separated. In these few cases it is rather striking that the separation occurs in connection with the first marriage.

On separating, a person "gets up and collects his (or her) things and leaves." Today an American divorce costs \$25.00, and "you must have a good cause." If you are not legally divorced and you remarry, the Government "stops your payments."<sup>87</sup>

Adultery in American law is a good cause for divorce; but divorce for adultery as far as it might be a public display of jealousy runs counter to Caddo standards of decency. People would think it "an awful disgrace" for a husband to show jealousy in public, to do anything to the other man like hitting him. Privately a man might speak to his wife and tell her to take the other man if she preferred him. For a woman to show jealousy in public is also indecent, bad manners.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> "If a man marries the oldest sister of several and she dies, a younger sister may take her place if it is agreeable" (Spier, 262).

<sup>87</sup> See p. 31.

<sup>88</sup> Cp. Crow and Hidatsa, Lowie 1: 94.



Girls and youths marry at eighteen or nineteen. White Moon could recall no old maid, and but one old bachelor (see p. 72). If the girl's parents do not like her suitor, they will "run him off." White Moon had never heard of an elopement.

If a suitor "has nerve," he will himself ask the parents for the girl, otherwise he will send an old man, relative or friend, to ask for her. If agreeable to the match, the girl's mother will go about and tell all their relatives, paternal and maternal. Formerly the accepted suitor would bring horses, three, four or more, to the girl's parents for them to keep or distribute as they wished. He would then take the girl to his folks. Nowadays, after registering at the court house and staying a few days at the bride's house, the couple will go to their own house. A man refers to his wife's house as *kokojenjia*, "where my leggings hang."

The term for one's wife's house also points plainly enough to the practice of matrilocal residence. Today in accordance with White Moon's statement, it is likely that a newly married couple have their own house or at least plan to acquire a house; formerly, however, matrilocal residence, as elsewhere noted, must have been in vogue. Conspicuous cases appear in studying Genealogy II. The husbands of Sho'sin (Gen. II, 6) and of her daughters lived in their wife's house, and the three husbands of Chu'u<sup>u</sup> (Gen. II, 15) came into her house to live, as did likewise Mr. Blue, the husband of her daughter. Widowed, Mr. Blue left his wife's household, leaving his son behind. Similarly Mr. Squirrel, Sho'sin's son-in-law, left the household when his wife died, their children remaining with their maternal grandmother. Grasshopper, the aged kinsman who lives with Chu'u<sup>u</sup>, came into the household only after his wife's death. The six children of her deceased female cousin were brought up by Chu'u<sup>u</sup>, not by their father's people, and one of the girls and her children still live half the year with Ch'u<sup>u</sup>. All these facts of residence are obviously characteristic of a matrilocal system, in this family, indeed, the system appears quite as marked as in a culture such as the Pueblo Indian where matrilocal residence is completely developed. A number of other cases of matrilocal residence might be cited from a combined analysis of the genealogical records and the list of houses, as well, of course, as a number of exceptions to the practice. Among the exceptions however, are several where the woman is from another people, a familiar factor in breaking down the practice of matrilocal residence or in precluding its development.

White Moon could recall but one woman who had never borne children, his father's sister, Little-white-eyes (Gen. I, 15). People wanted as many children, he opined, as they could have, and as a rule, he also opined, a woman would have about five children. (The genealogical tables indicate a

progeny less numerous, but probably not all the deceased children are listed.) Kanushe, a doctor of Binger,<sup>89</sup> was summoned at childbirth. "It took him no time to bring a baby." A child is suckled well past babyhood. A five year old girl was described as still a suckling.

The familiar distinction between the sexes in exclamation occurs in the use of *wa'na!* or *wa'tsisha!* by women which if said by a man would sound womanish or, as White Moon says, "sissy." If something fell and startled or scared a woman or if any slight accident befell her, she might use one exclamation or the other. In like trifling circumstances "a man would not say anything." In a serious accident, like breaking a leg, a man as well as a woman would say *awi!*

Formerly women wore their hair in two braids at the back, and men wore their hair in a long Dutch cut, not in braids. Then, in imitation of other tribes—Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche—men wore braids wrapped with beaver and beads.

Men, not women, are the wood carvers, carving plates, bowls, and spoons. Today pottery is not made.

#### SICKNESS: WITCHCRAFT: DOCTORING: BURIAL: AFTER DEATH

Sickness may be caused by a witch<sup>90</sup> who has sent something into your body—horse hair, an insect, a bit of cloth, an arrow. Your doctor (*konah'*) would draw out<sup>91</sup> this thing and send it back into the witch who sent it. Then a fight would be on "between the two witches," i.e. your doctor and the one bewitching you. The one who has the more power will win.<sup>92</sup> If the curing doctor is stronger than the witch doctor, he will make a cure, otherwise the witch doctor will send the sickness into the curing doctor.<sup>93</sup> The

<sup>89</sup> See p. 38.

<sup>90</sup> *nei'di'* (White Moon); *naite* (Ingkanish).

<sup>91</sup> *di'm-aGa'* (R.), take it out of him.

<sup>92</sup> Cp. Dorsey 2: 44.

<sup>93</sup> Once, reports Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María, a medicine-man "by his tricks tried to prevent me from baptizing a woman. I hurled an exorcism against him, and, all at once, he ran away as if I had tried to kill him. There was another along who tried by certain ceremonies to throw fat and tobacco into the fire in order to do me some harm. I hurled an exorcism at him in the presence of more than thirty persons. So great was his fright that he was not able to hold the bow and arrow which they always carry in their hands; but he ran away from me and the others assembled there. Next morning they went in search of him to get him to cure the sick; but they found him dead in a valley. Since that time all the medicine-men, whom they call *conna*, are afraid of me and give me a free path, praising what I do. They tell the sick that it is very good for them to permit themselves to have the water applied." Moreover, five medicine-men themselves applied for baptism (Hatcher, XXX, 295–296).—Little did the otherwise very understanding friar realize how well he had proved himself to be a superior witch doctor, one to be greatly feared!



curing doctor has first of all to learn who is the witch doctor in the case. If he finds that the witch doctor is one with greater power than himself, he will not take the case. Some doctors are witches and some are not. Witches are mostly men. A doctor would teach his or her grandchild, especially a daughter's child. A woman doctor might teach her grandson.

In discussing the removal of the witch-sent object, White Moon was uncertain how it was done, whether or not by sucking.<sup>94</sup> For a bruise or sprain the flesh is cut in a cross, and a horn or bottle in which paper is burned is applied to draw out the blood. This is, of course, a form of cupping. It has also a curious resemblance to sucking as performed by the early Choctaw who cut and then through a horn sucked out the blood and, sometimes, a bit of wood or bison wool or insects alleged to have been the spell of a witch.<sup>95</sup> Sucking by horn (or tube) is Indian and was practiced throughout the Southeast; exhausting the air is European,<sup>96</sup> but the resemblance of extraction may have been a source of confusion to White Moon.

Of a witch operating with arrows White Moon gave the following account. A woman saw through the window of a house a short, blood-stained arrow fall down from the air and an old man pick it up. More arrows similarly fell and were picked up. The old man would blow on them and they would disappear, soon to reappear. He was sending these arrows into some one, and he was so powerful that he could send them a hundred miles. A party organized to kill this witch. They shot him through the back and as they shot, he kept jumping into the air. They cut the body up into pieces but the pieces would join together.<sup>97</sup> This occurred five times, the sixth time they cut his heart crosswise; that killed him. Witches could hit you with their magic arrows over long distances—one thousand miles (Pardon)—in fact they could send their power over any distance.

A witch can kill you immediately or let you suffer for three or four days or for years. Witches can not kill a White man, except through his food; the White man has too much pepper and salt in him.

Witches may turn into a screech owl<sup>98</sup> (*kaietsi*) or may get their power from the owl or be partner with him (*p'it'oniwahna ku kaietsi*).<sup>99</sup> After bewitching, the screech owl will be sent by the witch to the invalid's house to spy out how he is doing. Accordingly, whenever people see a screech owl

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<sup>94</sup> Into the eighteenth century Caddo doctors did practice sucking (Hatcher, XXX, 296, XXXI, 165).

<sup>95</sup> Swanton 3: 228, 236.

<sup>96</sup> The Choctaw did this also with their sucking horn.

<sup>97</sup> For this resurrection pattern, cp. Caddo, Dorsey 2: 19, also Kiowa, Parsons, 116.

<sup>98</sup> Cp. Creeks, Swanton 1: 632.

<sup>99</sup> Cp. Shawnee (Voegelin); Kiowa, Parsons, 115.

about the house, they try to kill it. Whenever a bird is shot, there in the corresponding part of the witch's body will be a hole or bruise.<sup>100</sup> If the owl is killed and boiled in a kettle, the witch will die. According to Ingkanish, this witch-sent owl can not be killed. "Bad luck" is foretold by Owl, also by Coyote through his cry (Pardon).<sup>101</sup>

The Beaver (*t'ao*) doctor is the "strongest" (i.e. most powerful) (Ingkanish). He is a *daitino* (mescal-bean) doctor. He held a medicine dance in early spring. He would throw fire up onto the "grass house" and get it down without the house catching fire. He would shoot another doctor through the heart so that he bled from the mouth. They would find the bullet and give it to the doctor who would then revive the one he had shot. Also, according to Ingkanish, the doctors were in groups, "bands." He mentioned three "bands"—Beaver, Mescal-bean, *yuko*, and there were two or three other "bands" also. For the (?)origin of the *yuko*, next strongest to Beaver, Ingkanish told a story of two brothers who raided a camp. "One jumped over the fire. When a brave man did this it meant that he never left the fire."<sup>102</sup> This man was riddled with bullets. His brother found him, took out the bullets, and restored him to life. He was *yuko*." Inferably the *yuko* doctor was for wounds. . . . To one of the doctor "bands" the scalp taker was conducted. . . . Bear medicine was familiar to Ingkanish and so was the Panther doctor. There are still some doctors among the Caddo, Ingkanish admitted; but he would not take me to one. "If we looked for the doctors, the witches might be around." And there was no doubt that Ingkanish was very much afraid of witches. Pardon was also. "Witches don't like to be questioned. They might kill you. We were not allowed to ask questions about them." The Delaware, Pardon added, did not keep their witches as secret as did the Caddo. Delaware witches came to the house as birds.

According to Pardon, *yuku* (*yoko*) were doctors who could tell what was going to happen, and could find lost things, they could bring back a stray horse. *Yuku* could find out a man's supernatural "partner" or *p'itauniwan'ha* (to have power from).<sup>103</sup> Pardon's grandfather, known as Mike Pardon, was a *yuku*. He could foretell the coming of an epidemic or of anything else four days in advance. Beaver and *dai'tono* doctors were known to Pardon merely as names. He knew, however, of the Beaver medicine dance.

<sup>100</sup> Widespread belief in the Southwest.

<sup>101</sup> See pp. 7, 59.

<sup>102</sup> Does this obscure reference mean that by jumping over the fire a warrior vowed he would stand fast? Choctaw said that if one did anything wrong in the presence of fire the fire would tell the sun of it (Swanton 3: 196).

<sup>103</sup> See pp. 57 ff. See also pp. 61, 62 for the point of view that a doctor ran the risk of losing his power if his supernatural partner were known.



A doctor is invited to perform a cure with a gift of tobacco. If he accepts it, it means that he will undertake treatment.<sup>104</sup> He performs it, for six days in the patient's house, with a woman or man of the household to assist. None may enter the patient's room without being smoked with cedar<sup>105</sup> or with white-leaf (*gasa'gaiyu'*, R. ? sage). In sickness a sweat bath is also used.<sup>106</sup> After six days if no cure is effected, another doctor might be called in. The doctor "puts down his medicines." He prays to "one above" or to *a'a*, father (Ingkanish). If "one above" says so, the doctor undertakes the cure. He is paid with a horse, calico, etc.

Each doctor has his own rules of curing, which depend on his supernatural partner. Tsa'bisu, Mr. Wing (Dr. Gerrin) who died in 1907 was a famous doctor. His supernatural partner was Red-headed woodpecker (R. *ban'*). He was also "connected with" the buffalo. Once while Wing was curing a girl, White Moon looked into the tipi and saw Wing acting like a mad buffalo.<sup>107</sup> There was a buffalo tail which seemed to be swishing about of itself. This girl died. She was too far gone, Wing reported, "it was time for her to die." And White Moon added, "We believe that you die when it is time."

Before his own death Wing had an extraordinary experience. There was an epidemic in the tribe, and Wing (himself a witch) dreamed that it was being caused by witches. In his dream there appeared to him somebody with thorns all over his face and head. This one said to Wing, "I am going to show you the men who are causing lots of you to die, some of them are important men, too." And then Wing saw these men sitting in a tipi. "I will show you, too, men of good power," said the one with thorns, and among them, according to White Moon, was Mr. Blue, his father. But there was more to it. Before the one with thorns disappeared he said to Wing, "I am leaving two things in your hands. Tomorrow at noon these things will be taken." Then Wing woke up, and in his hands, which were crossed over his chest, were two snakes. He told the old woman who was sitting there taking care of him to take the snakes in a can to a certain tree. The day following, a summer day, clear and bright, as everybody remembers to this day, at noon that tree was struck by lightning and the snakes disappeared. The day after, Wing died.

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<sup>104</sup> Among Shawnee, tobacco binds the appointment of the funeral leader. Tobacco is used among Shawnee and many Algonquian-speaking Woodlands tribes when approaching a guardian spirit, or to make binding the prayers to a supernatural (Voegelin). Same concept throughout Southwest.

<sup>105</sup> Cp. Kiowa, Parsons, 135.

<sup>106</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>107</sup> Compare Buffalo doctors of Kiowa, Parsons, 116; also for Caddo, Dorsey 2: 22, where Black-mountain-bear medicine-man acts like a bear.

A Kiowa-Apache doctor was referred to by Ingkanish. His infant brother who had a straw sticking in his throat—the child had swallowed it—was taken to this doctor. The doctor made circuits around the patient. He brushed the patient with an eagle wing feather. He sucked out the straw. The doctor used the eagle feather because when he had himself been sick with pains in his side which he could not get out he had gone into the mountains [to ask for power] and there an old eagle alit and gave him power to cure himself and others. This doctor wore a necklace of *daitino*.<sup>108</sup> This *daitino* plant is used for medicine by Caddo also.

Doctors have a medicine for snake bite. There is a “worn out (i.e. played out) horse medicine.”<sup>109</sup>

Before the corpse is taken out from the house, those present pass their hands over it, from head to feet, and then over their own person. Messages are sent through the deceased to other dead relatives.<sup>110</sup> Anybody arriving too late to see the deceased will go to the grave, to the east side, and, making a pass over the grave, will pass his hands down his own person. This rite is repeated at the other sides of the grave, south, west, north.

Graves are made near dwelling houses,<sup>111</sup> nowadays on your own land. At the time of the land allotment White Moon's grandmother selected as her land the place where her daughter and grandson, White Moon's mother and little brother, were buried. The daughter of a neighbor<sup>112</sup> is buried here, too. During the period of my inquiry Hanoshi' (Gen. II, 25) died. She was to be buried, according to White Moon, near her sister, Sadie (Gen. II, 23) whose grave was near their mother's house where both women had continued to live. House and burial place are at Kudadosa where White Moon's mother and brother lived and were buried. But the burial places like the houses of these two related families are separate. In another place are buried, near one another, several of White Moon's paternal relatives, his father, Mr. Blue, his father's mother, his father's three sisters and a parallel cousin. These graves, some of which were made before 1900, are on land now belonging to Sam Houston<sup>113</sup> (Gen. I, 24) whose mother was the oldest sister of Mr. Blue. Sam Houston got the land from Biskuachu, a paternal

<sup>108</sup> Mexican bean “next to peyote” [mescal bean]. According to Pardon, this red bean is only worn nowadays for beads, nobody knows how to use it for medicine. See La Barre, 105 ff.

<sup>109</sup> See p. 40 for other shamanistic functions.

<sup>110</sup> Shawnee funeral guests send gifts via the deceased, to their dead kin (Voegelin).

<sup>111</sup> Cp. Harrington, 285.

<sup>112</sup> This woman White Moon's grandmother called *dahai''*, younger sister; but White Moon insists that between the two women there was no kinship.

<sup>113</sup> Named undoubtedly for General Sam Houston with whom Caddo were in contact during their Texas sojourn in 1825-1840.



parallel cousin.<sup>114</sup> The body of Mr. Blue was brought from some distance (Fort Cobb) to be buried in this place (Binger) which "seemed like home to them."—From the evidence, it seems as if members of the same family were buried together, and that for burial purposes kinship was reckoned through the mother.

The head of the grave must be at the west,<sup>115</sup> facing the rising sun. The grave diggers stand at the east end of the grave and one shoots to the west,<sup>116</sup> into the grave. Then they let down the blanket-wrapped body. They put into the grave whatever they think the deceased should take with her or him, for a woman, cooking utensils, plates, etc., clothing; and for a man, besides clothes and blankets, bow and arrows "to defend himself on his road if anything bother him," since "evil things<sup>117</sup> try to get the soul before reaching heaven."<sup>118</sup> As such "evil things" are abroad at night the bow and arrows for the deceased should be made in the day time.<sup>119</sup> A woman will protect herself with her knife. If the deceased is interfered with, he will linger about until the shaman sets him on the right road again. According to Ingkanish the besetting evil things are bad *ka<sup>a</sup>yu* (ghosts) or *tsaki'u* (*ki'u*, horn), "devils" with horns. They are on both sides of the road which is "awful hard" to travel. It is narrow. There is a big river crossed by a small log.<sup>120</sup> After you pass over that foot log you are safe, and you go on to *naawantikuki'das* (our father all home) or, as it is also called, *kiwat'hae'me* (home big) or *kiwat'hae'me kuki'das*, which is above, to the west.<sup>121</sup>

The spirit stays six<sup>122</sup> days before starting on its way. During these six days a fire must be kept up at the east end of the grave.<sup>123</sup> Anybody in the family, man or woman, old or young, may keep up this fire. All the possessions of the deceased, clothes, etc., are kept by this fire, hung on a pole. At the close of the six days things which are unfit for further use are burned, other things are smoked, and may then be given away to friends or rela-

<sup>114</sup> See p. 71.

<sup>115</sup> Cp. Dorsey 2: 65.

<sup>116</sup> Formerly they shot arrows to notify the "master of the house" to whom the dead went (Hatcher, XXX, 294).

<sup>117</sup> According to Dorsey 2: 62–64, cannibals who eat the dead. Compare soul eater reported for Choctaw (Swanton 3: 195).

<sup>118</sup> *Hayuna naa'a*, above or there high where is father. Cp. Mooney, 1096, 1098, 1099.

<sup>119</sup> It is the ghost itself that would fetch them, according to Dorsey, and the appearance of a ghost is a sign of death in the family.

<sup>120</sup> Reported among Choctaw (Swanton 3: 218–219) and Shawnee (Voegelin).—Spanish?

<sup>121</sup> Cp. Creeks (Swanton 1: 512) and Southeast in general (Swanton 2: 709–710).

<sup>122</sup> Four (Ingkanish). The Delaware build a fire at the grave but they do not keep it up four days like the Caddo nor hold a feast (Pardon).

<sup>123</sup> Cp. Dorsey 2: 15, 31, 65.

tives.<sup>124</sup> Members of the household of the deceased who have been staying at home are smoked<sup>125</sup> at this time, after which they take a bath in the creek. Now at noon there is a meal at the grave. The pots are set in a circle, and with a spoon a man, any one may be chosen, takes some food into his hand from each pot and puts this food on the middle of the grave, it is for the journey.<sup>126</sup>

Recurrently, at the same time of year, for two, three, or four years a feast for the deceased person is made (*kanitashnowia'a kiats'abisu*, there is going to be a feast; *kia*, used to be; Mr. Bisu [Wing]),<sup>127</sup> and food is taken to the grave, or, as Ingkanish puts it, a beef is killed and a piece taken to the grave which is encircled clockwise four times. There is much visiting about in connection with these characteristically Southeastern feasts,<sup>128</sup> as acquaintances as well as relatives are entertained. It has become customary to hold a peyote meeting the night before a death feast. At the feast the next Ghost dance will be announced.

Of the dead it is said, *ganiha<sup>a</sup>da'* (R.), he passed away, or *hayuna* (*hayu*, high, *na*, locative), "he has gone home" is White Moon's free translation. At death people go up to the sky.<sup>129</sup> Deceased relatives and others are seen in the Ghost dance trance, in fact the entire "village of the dead" may be seen.<sup>130</sup>

There is or was a ceremony to bring back the dead. Kanoshtsi' (Kanosh, French), a doctor who died in 1908,<sup>131</sup> had four sisters, long since dead, who were also doctors and practiced bringing back the dead,<sup>132</sup> with success

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<sup>124</sup> Who are at hand. When the horses and hogs belonging to White Moon's father, Mr. Blue, were distributed at his death, they went to his widow and her son and other relatives. White Moon did not get any because he was not home. Of Mr. Blue's land eighty acres went to the widow, and eighty were divided between his two sons.

<sup>125</sup> Ingkanish refers to this rite as holding one's hands over the fire which is between them and the grave, then passing one's hands down one's face, holding them again over the fire, passing them over heart and body, holding them to the fire, and passing them over legs, holding them to the fire and passing them over the face, and finally raising them up to the west.

<sup>126</sup> Cp. Harrington, 286, 287. Grave meal among Shawnee, also fire on grave until fourth day when the spirit departs, when his things are smoked, and the mourners bathe (Voegelin).

<sup>127</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>128</sup> Choctaw (Swanton); Shawnee (Voegelin).

<sup>129</sup> There was an early belief about a high god in the sky to whom the dead go (Hatcher, XXXI, 162). Cp. Dorsey 2: 15.

<sup>130</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1096, 1102.

<sup>131</sup> In 1922 (Ingkanish). He passed on some of his craft to his son. Little Frenchman who died in 1922 was probably the son of the doctor who died in 1908—three, perhaps four, generations of doctors.

<sup>132</sup> Cp. Pawnee, Grinnell, 170; Kiowa, Parsons, 75.



if they began to work soon after the death. They sent their supernatural partners after the deceased. They could catch up with the deceased and bring him back to the body providing he had not passed beyond certain clouds in the sky.<sup>133</sup> These women doctors conducted their ceremony "to catch up with the dead" in a large permanent "grass house."<sup>134</sup> Their brother has been heard to say that had he only paid more attention to his sisters' methods he would have been as good in practice as they.

That the return of the dead *after* burial would be far from welcome is inferable from the notorious case of John Stink, an Osage. One day, after his burial, he came walking into town with his dogs. People would not have anything to do with him. So he had to go and live alone. For many years he has been living alone, with his dogs.<sup>135</sup> In telling the story of John Stink, White Moon added: "Once a woman, a White woman, tried to mix me up with him. She wanted me to tell him she would marry him. She said she was not afraid of him and would live with him, it would be good for him and good for her." John Stink was rich. White Moon declined to be mixed up in the case.

<sup>133</sup> According to Wing, "there are two kinds of medicine-men. One kind has power to doctor and heal the sick; another has the power to prevent any one from being hurt or harmed, and can charm away all danger" . . . these are more powerful and have power to bewitch people far off. "They have a song of death, and when they sing the song before a dying person they frighten away death and the person lives. There are few people who ever receive this power, which is generally given by the sun, moon, stars, earth, or storm, but some very wild and ferocious animals can also give the power to people" (Dorsey 2: 23). Wing himself, after White Moon, was of the second class, for he was *nei di* as well as *konah'*.

<sup>134</sup> Such as the Wichita now hold dances in. Formerly among both Wichita and Caddo the "grass house" was a dwelling house. Today most of the Caddo live in frame houses, "very fine too." Even log cabins (*ya'ko*) are rare.

*Kohu'tsauo*, grass house (Ingkanish); *kohũthitkwisaiyaba'*, we had grass house (White Moon).

<sup>135</sup> In 1939 Willie Longbone, aged 72, a Delaware living near Dewey, Okla. (not near Caddo) told Dr. Voegelin about John Stink: "The Osage set the corpse up between two rocks and pile rocks around it. When John Stink died they set him up like that, with his legs stretched out and moccasins on. But he got up and put the rocks away and walked away. He came back to camp with his moccasins on. White doctors had attended him and pronounced him dead. He was 'buried' for five or six days. The government made the Osage quit burying in rocks like that afterwards.

"John Stink lived fifty years after his first 'death,' and died last fall (1938) for good. He was never quite right after his first 'death'; he couldn't talk any more; before that he was like anybody else. He went out in the hills and slept [lived] there; he ate in a restaurant in town; he always had six dogs with him."



## WEATHER CONTROL

Still another type of doctor is represented in Tsa'biti, Mr. Cedar.<sup>136</sup> He is a rain-maker. His rain-making ceremony lasts six days. In it he uses the pole which is used in the Ghost dance and is painted dark blue *to represent clouds*. In time of drought, people will say, "Let us go to Mr. Cedar." But Mr. Cedar has been criticized as "going to extremes." For this reason his ceremony has been known to intensify the drought and burn up the crops instead of bringing rain. (Mr. Cedar died in 1921.)

Kanushe, the curing doctor, was also described by Ingkanish as a rain-maker, in time of war. Once he went with four or five men to steal horses from the Comanche. He made a fog to enable the raiders to steal the horses within the camp, and he made rain to wash out the tracks of the raiders.<sup>137</sup> He had a medicine to make the enemy crazy.

Kadit'si was a doctor who died thirty years ago (Pardon). He both doctored the sick and controlled weather. He could draw rain or cyclone. Once in Louisiana he drew a cyclone against white soldiers in pursuit of the tribe. He made use of Cyclone only to protect the tribe in danger.<sup>138</sup> His rain ceremony he kept secret, and he had no helper. He would perform his ritual at a spring, staying there only a few minutes. He would plunge a stick with a black cloth on the top into the water.<sup>139</sup> If the kerchief floated and a mist rose up two feet above the water, Kadit'si knew it was going to rain.

Inferably, rain-making or weather control and curing were merely different functions, and shamans themselves were not differentiated into rain-makers and curers.

## HAND-GAME: RACING

Hand-game (*kanidano'tsutsa*, they are going to have a hand-game) may be played at any time, indoors. It is played by men and women, mixed, not sex against sex. A drummer and choir sit on the west side, likewise the score keeper, the two rows of players, north and south (Fig. 1). The score keeper

<sup>136</sup> When Mr. Cedar was a child he was rescued from the Texans and restored to his people by White Moon's great grandfather (Gen. II, 4). The boy had been left behind by the people on their escape from northern Texas into Oklahoma. White Moon's forebear returned twice to Texas for things which had been forgotten. The second time he was killed. His horse returned riderless and bloody. They went to search for the rider, but could not find him.

<sup>137</sup> See p. 59.

<sup>138</sup> One Bat'nint'iti, Little-button, who died in 1906 is mentioned as protecting a house against a cyclone by going outside and making certain motions, causing the cyclone to keep away from the house. (Cp. Dorsey 2:56; Shawnee, Voegelin; Kiowa, Parsons, 15-17).

<sup>139</sup> Shawnee make rain by dipping a buffalo tail in a spring (Voegelin).

hands the two little bones to the two players nearest him in the north row, a bone to each. The player opposite in the south row has to guess which hand the bone is in, the player with the bone keeping both hands in motion, crisscrossing. If the hand is guessed, the player lays the bone down in front. Then the second bone holder is guessed over by the player opposite. If the guesser fails, the first bone holder gets his bone back; if the guesser succeeds, both bones are given by the score keeper to the two first players in the south row to be guessed over. For every failure to guess, one of the six

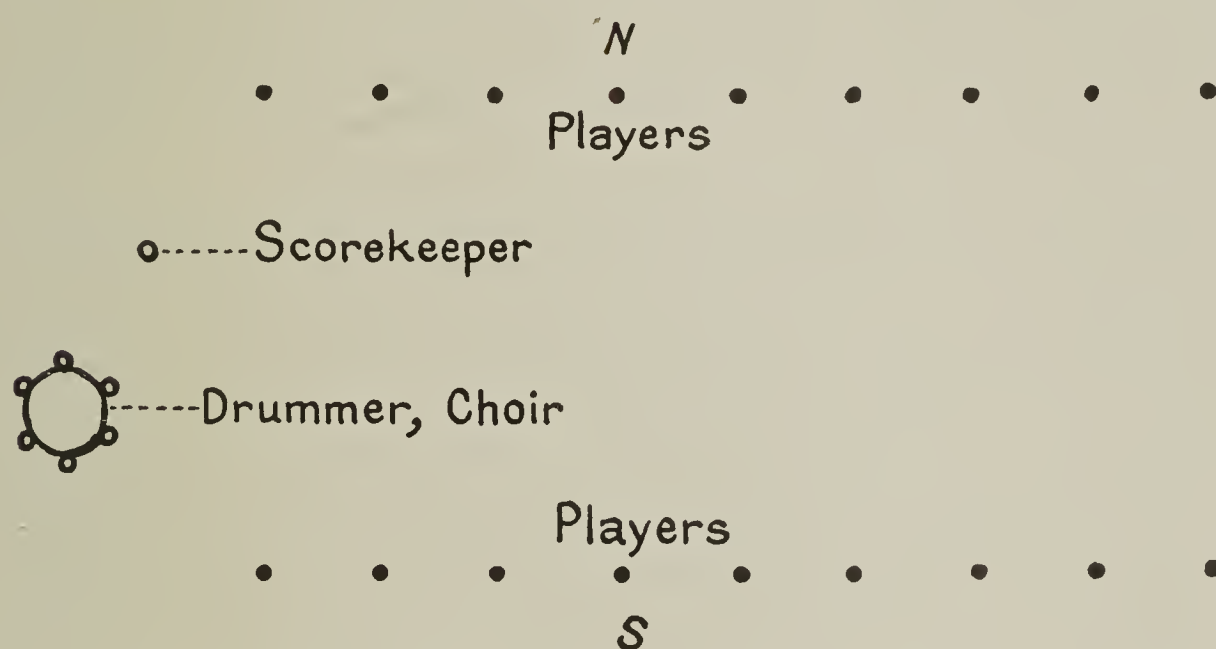


Fig. 1. Positions in hand-game

tally sticks passes to the player not guessed. Tallies and bones pass on down the lines, the play progressing by successive couples, tallies as well as bones crossing from row to row, e.g. when the second couple in the north row is being guessed by the couple opposite with success, the tallies held by the first couple in the north row pass over to the successful guessers in the south row. When one row holds all six tallies, the game is won. There may be any number of players, from a dozen to fifty. They play seated.<sup>140</sup>

Foot races are run during the assembly for the Ghost dance, some time in August. The chief, Enoch Hoag, is the organizer. Before dawn he goes out and calls for the race. He hangs up two large gourds with beads inside<sup>141</sup> on a small pole,<sup>142</sup> to which from a distance of about three hundred yards the runners sprint. The winner gets the gourds to set off with in the long race

<sup>140</sup> Voegelin saw Ioway and Oto play this same sort of hand-game, in 1938. Compare Grinnell's account of hand-game as played by Pawnee, and Dorsey's account of it as played by Wichita, in Culin, 276, 279-280.

<sup>141</sup> No ritual attaches to these undecorated gourds. Anybody may loan for the race the gourds he happens to have.

<sup>142</sup> Cp. Joutel, 354.



to follow. Whoever overtakes him, takes from him the gourds, since whoever is in the lead has to carry the gourds.<sup>143</sup> The goal of the race of several miles—nowadays about ten, formerly from forty to fifty—is at the dancing grounds. Lookers-on follow on horseback, whooping. Women used to ride out, too, mothers riding to encourage their sons to stay in to the finish. One man is appointed to keep the equestrians on the side from which the smell of the horses will not reach the runners, for it is believed that horse smell will weaken them. There may be from twenty-five to thirty runners, including older men, although many run only in the initial sprint. Formerly there was gambling on the race. The race is non-ceremonial, merely as practice in carrying messages, to keep fit. However, there is racing medicine (Ingkanish).

A male infant may be put out near the end of the race track to have the winner pass his foot over him, that he in turn may become a good runner.

The following story about horse racing was told White Moon by his step-grandfather (Gen. II, 18), Tom Williams, the "old man" in the story.

In early days when they had the North and South fight [Civil War] three Indians were scattered. They were hitting for Kansas, they camped. Next morning they went hunting. They couldn't find anything; they killed a young steer. That night they made a fire and were roasting some ribs. They heard a horse, they jumped up, they saw a White man, they got out their guns. The man held up his hands, rode up, and got off. One Indian wanted to kill him anyway, thinking he was the owner of the steer. The White man said by signs he was hungry. He had hardly any clothes on; it was in the fall of the year, pitiful. Still the Indian wanted to kill him. That night every time the Indian raised up his head, the others watched him to protect the White man. At daybreak all got up, they had breakfast together. The White man, the cowboy, was riding a very poor horse, all skin and bones. They understood that he wanted to trade horses, he was going somewhere. The old man said he had a wild horse, he took the cowboy down to him, said he would trade. Agreed. The cowboy got on the horse, the horse began to run; way down the valley the horse kept on running.

The old man kept the horse, the horse began to pick up, got heavier. As they were going through a village, people were horse racing. The three raced their horses and lost some races. The old man rode his horse one day, thought it was a pretty good runner, said to these Indians he would bet ten horses and run them a half a mile. So they went up to the line and started. At first they left him at the start. After a hundred yards the horse began to gain. About seventy-five yards to the finish he caught up to them and beat them by five yards. That way he won some horses.<sup>144</sup> After that he took care of the horse as a race horse and won all the races.

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<sup>143</sup> Compare Hopi race pattern.

<sup>144</sup> At an earlier period Caddo like other tribes raided for horses (Joutel, 352-353). And again as among other tribes horse racing appears as a substitute of a kind for horse raiding.



## HUNTING

Eagles are shot,<sup>145</sup> not snared. If you picked up the feather dropped by a live eagle, there would be a death in the family (Ingkanish). After shooting an eagle, or finding a dead eagle, you must notify your people, "otherwise something awful will happen to you;<sup>146</sup> eagles have wonderful power."<sup>147</sup> Ritual must be performed, by any older man. Then the bird may be plucked, after which it is buried like a person. The eagle killer is bathed all over with warm water and tobacco, and smoked with cedar fumes. The eagle feathers may be given away after they have been smoked (like any property of the dead). Eagle feathers are used "in medicine."

There is no restriction upon bear hunting—"Caddo, not like Kiowa who are afraid to kill a bear they think is a man." In fact Caddo were great bear hunters (like Shawnee). They would go bear hunting in a party, choosing an honest man, not a liar, to build the camp fire and keep it up. This, in order that the bear would not get away, i.e. would stay near the camp. The party shared evenly in the game. The husband of a pregnant woman may not go hunting, he has to stay at home.<sup>148</sup> Women eat bear meat, but a pregnant woman would probably not eat it.

Nowadays there is no hunting. The Wichita Mountains are a government reservation. Nowadays "there is nothing to do but work" was Grayson Pardon's lament.

## RITES

EXORCISM BY FUMIGATION<sup>149</sup>

This rite<sup>150</sup> is performed, as we shall note, in Peyote ceremonial—when a

<sup>145</sup> Cp. Mooney, 992.

<sup>146</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1100–1101. Formerly only the medicine-men who knew the eagle-killing ritual killed eagles. "Should anyone else kill an eagle, his family would die or some other great misfortune would come upon him." The eagle-killer took with him a robe or other valuable offering. He covered the body of the eagle with the robe (as dead deer are covered by Pueblo Indians). The dead eagle was not brought home. Mooney continues, "The last man of the Caddo who knew the eagle-killing ritual died some years ago, and since then they have had to go without eagle feathers or buy them from the Kiowa and other tribes. Since Sitting Bull (of the Arapaho) came down and 'gave the feather' (see p. 49) to the leaders of the (Ghost) dance the prohibition is removed, and men and women alike are now at liberty to get and wear eagle feathers as they will."—And yet, not quite.

This reverence for the eagle is much like that of the Shawnee, in general tone. Eagle feathers, until they were "cured," were highly dangerous; if a man wore an "uncured" feather he would die (Voegelin).

<sup>147</sup> Among Shawnee membrane from inside the quill had to be removed before the feather could be worn; otherwise it was too powerful (Voegelin).

<sup>148</sup> Formerly a pregnant woman was not allowed to cooperate in planting lest it spoil the crop (Hatcher, XXXI, 156).

<sup>149</sup> Cp. Hatcher, XXX, 214; Pawnee, Murie, 625–626, 637; Dorsey 1: 79; Dorsey 3: 30.

<sup>150</sup> *Hits'iushnuha*, I was smoking myself.

participant returns to the ceremonial tipi after having had to leave it during the night, and, by all the participants at the close of the ceremony.

Any one who would enter the room where a patient is being cured has first to be smoked.

The property of the dead is smoked, at the grave, before it is given away, and the mourners themselves are smoked. Feathers plucked from a dead eagle have also to be smoked before they are given away. Eagle killers are smoked.

In the Peyote fumigatory rite eagle feathers are used to waft the smoke, ordinarily a person merely stoops over the smoke, no covering being used.

#### EXORCISM BY BATH

An eagle killer is bathed with warm water and tobacco. Mourners bathe in a stream.

River bath or the sweat bath, which is in general use in the Southeast, is preliminary to participation in Peyote ceremonial.

#### PRAYER

He prayed or gave thanks (*t'umbakauutsihadina*) is the term used for the initial prayer of the Peyote leader; also for the ceremony to ask forgiveness<sup>151</sup> from your supernatural helper (p. 58), where it is described as "to pray or make offerings."

#### OFFERINGS

The hunt leader would build a fire and in the middle of it put an offering of buffalo tongue. This offering was to the fire itself, which was kept up for the duration of the hunt camp. Today when a beef is killed a piece is cast on the fire. Some of the first of the crop—potatoes, pumpkin, corn—is cast on the fire. When White Moon has been away, his grandmother will keep against his return the first meal of something new,<sup>152</sup> putting a bit of it on the fire.<sup>153</sup>

At the meal eaten at the grave<sup>154</sup> to dispatch the dead and at memorial meals food is offered on the grave. The property of the deceased is hung on

<sup>151</sup> *Hakuts'iats'a*, I am sorry.

<sup>152</sup> Formerly, at least at a ceremonial meal, "something of everything" was offered (Hatcher, XXX, 212); now it is only something of anything new.

<sup>153</sup> Cp. Harrington, 267; Hatcher, XXX, 212–213; Creeks, Swanton 1: 517, and general in the Southeast (Swanton 2: 708).

<sup>154</sup> One Shawnee division set the food for the final burial feast on the grave first, then brought it back and served it to the guests, at the dwelling house (Voegelin).

a pole, one of the regular early ways of making offerings.<sup>155</sup> There are always crumbs for ghosts<sup>156</sup> (see p. 60).

#### FASTING

Fasting from salt is observed in Peyote ceremonial. Compare p. 33 for the idea that salt in the body precludes being affected by magical or supernatural influence—possibly a clue to the widespread taboo on salt in connection with ceremonial.

#### SMOKING AND GIFT OF TOBACCO

The Peyote ceremony opens with ceremonial smoking, the leader holding the cigarette over Father Peyote, and puffing the smoke upward. Puffing in the directions on any occasion was unfamiliar to my informants, although into the eighteenth century Caddo did smoke in the directions.<sup>157</sup>

A gift of tobacco to a doctor who accepts it is binding.

#### ORIENTATION: THE ROAD

The circuit is sunwise, beginning in the east, as seen in ritual at the grave, in Peyote ceremonial and in the *kak'it'imbin* dance. The Ghost dance circuit is anti-sunwise and so is that of a pleasure "stomp dance." As among Pawnee,<sup>158</sup> the head of the ceremonial group sits at the west side, and north and south lines are distinguishable.<sup>159</sup>

The "road," presumably for the Spirits, runs east and west. The Sky father to whom the dead go lives in the west.

#### FAVORED NUMERAL

It is six;<sup>160</sup> as White Moon puts it, "they always do it six times."<sup>161</sup> Curing ceremonial lasts six days. The mourning period is six days. There are six tallies in the hand-game. The cardinal directions are accounted six. In describing how women used to pound corn Ingkanish said there would be as many as six women working together at the mortar; in previous accounts no more than four are described.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Hatcher, XXX, 214.

<sup>156</sup> Food, also tobacco, was offered to the scalps at the victory celebration (Joutel, 380). Inferably the tobacco was to bind the Spirits (see below).

<sup>157</sup> Hatcher, XXXI, 166, 172. Creeks used color-directions associated with water. (Swanton 1: 623-624).

<sup>158</sup> Murie, 628.

<sup>159</sup> Murie, 628, 636, 642.

<sup>160</sup> Cp. Pawnee, Murie, 629 n. 1.

<sup>161</sup> See pp. 33, 37, 40, 41, 61, 67, 68, and cp. Dorsey 2: passim.

<sup>162</sup> Joutel, 367.



## BREATH RITE

The rite of expiration is observed in cures. The curer blows into the palm of the patient's hand or on his forehead—*tsit'ano'a*, I blew on him.<sup>163</sup>

Mooney relates that when he was visited by Moon-head, the Ghost dance leader, Moon-head began the interview by blowing upon him, afterwards explaining that this was to blow evil things away before beginning to talk on religion.<sup>164</sup> At the same time Moon-head passed his hands in front of Dr. Mooney's face.

## HAND PASS

One's palms are held towards or passed over something and then down (*aahatdaut'a*, good do). This rite of communicating an influence, as we might say, is very common. It occurs thrice in Peyote ceremonial, when the hands are raised to the rising sun, when the hands are passed over the peyote in the "road" and then down oneself and after the peyote is eaten and a forcible spit-like expiration is made on one's hands which are then passed down oneself. The rite occurs also in the Ghost dance. On the occasion of Moon-head's visit to Dr. Mooney, the Ghost dance leader, relates Dr. Mooney, "laying one hand on my head, and grasping my own hand with the other prayed silently for some time with bowed head, and then lifting his hand from my head, he passed it over my face, down my shoulder and arm to the hand, which he grasped and pressed slightly, and then released the fingers with a graceful upward sweep."<sup>165</sup> This rite of laying or passing hands was performed by twenty or more visitors the next day in connection with all the inmates of the household of which Dr. Mooney was a part. According to White Moon, in intertribal greeting, after shaking hands with the foreigner, you pass your palms over him and then over yourself.<sup>166</sup>

The rite of hand pass is observed over a corpse or at the grave.<sup>167</sup>

## MASKING

Mr. Wing referred to the use of a mask in one of the tales he told Dorsey.<sup>168</sup> White Moon appears never to have even heard of the use of masks.

<sup>163</sup> Cp. Dorsey 2: 22; Kiowa, Parsons, 137; widespread.

<sup>164</sup> The Ghost Dance Religion, 905.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> This is a characteristically Southeastern greeting (Swanton 2: 702).

<sup>167</sup> Possibly it was this rite which was performed at the installation of chiefs by the Choctaw in 1807 (Sibley, 26). It occurs among Pawnee (Murie, 565, 566, 627; Grinnell, 115; Dorsey 3: 26) and Kiowa (Parsons, 135).

<sup>168</sup> Dorsey 2: 58. Animal dance masks were reported among Choctaw (Swanton 3: 221-222) and among Creeks who also used masks of old men and of foreigners (Swanton 1: 551, 556), Southwest style, also Mexican, early and late.

## DREAMING

As already noted, songs may be heard first in dreams. One who has such a dream is expected to remain at home for a while, away from people. Mr. Wing told Dorsey that animals to give power might appear in dreams<sup>169</sup> and the dreamer would remain at home, in silence, refusing to talk, thinking on his experience.<sup>170</sup>

## GHOST DANCE

The *nanisana*<sup>171</sup> or Ghost dance is held two or three times during summer or autumn, the first performance in June.<sup>172</sup> Enoch Hoag, the chief, is today in charge. Before his death in 1917 Thomas Wister or Mr. Blue (Gen. I, 10—White Moon's father) who was Enoch Hoag's younger brother, had been in charge, because, long before the land allotment,<sup>173</sup> it was Mr. Blue who had put into order the dancing grounds (R. *guhayu' gudj'axgundj'anao'can: gu*, where, *hayu'*, up, i.e. up creek, where there is a place to dance),—hoeing up the weeds for a dance place and erecting the circular arbor.<sup>174</sup> Because his father owned the dancing ground White Moon says that he and his cousin Clarence Hoag had the right to call a "tribal meeting."—According to Ingkanish, Mr. Squirrel, who died in 1922, was in charge of the Ghost dance.

*Nanisana* is danced two nights in succession, with daytime events, such

<sup>169</sup> Cp. Choctaw, Swanton 3: 214.

<sup>170</sup> Traditions of the Caddo, 20.

<sup>171</sup> R. *nani'sana'*. This word, White Moon thinks, is Arapaho or Cheyenne. It is Arapaho, *nänisana*, "my children" (Mooney, 791). A Caddo term proper, according to Mooney, is *ä'ä kak'i'mbawi'ut*, "the prayer of all to the Father." According to White Moon, "Father, we pray to" is just a phrase that might be used, for example, were one reproving some one showing improper levity.

<sup>172</sup> According to Pardon, there has been no performance since before the Great War (1919) when the Government stopped all dances. Pardon refers to the Ghost dance as a negligible matter in quite different terms from those he uses towards the Peyote cult.

<sup>173</sup> At the great dance under the leadership of Sitting Bull held near the Cheyenne and Arapaho agency in 1890 Caddo were present (Mooney, 898). Dunuhkaido, White Moon thinks Sitting Bull was called, "it sounds familiar," but of Sitting Bull as the introducer of the cult White Moon knew nothing.

<sup>174</sup> According to Mooney, of the seven persons selected to be "given the feather" by Sitting Bull of the Arapaho, Nishku'ntü, Moon-head or John Wilson was chief. Moon-head was half Delaware, one-fourth Caddo, one-fourth French. (He spoke Caddo only.) He was a doctor as well as Ghost dance and Peyote leader. Around his neck he wore the polished tip of a buffalo horn, surrounded by a circlet of downy red feathers, within a circle of badger and owl claws. "The buffalo horn was 'god's heart,' the red feathers contained his own heart, and the circle of claws represented the world." In trance he went to the moon. "The moon taught him secrets" (i.e. was his supernatural helper). ("The Ghost Dance Religion," 903-905).

as Turkey dance in the morning, and in the afternoon War dance or hand-game.<sup>175</sup>

In the *nanisana* a dance circle is formed around the pole which has been raised in the centre of the dance ground or floor (Fig. 2). The pole is painted dark blue<sup>176</sup> "to represent clouds." Through the pole from east to west runs an imaginary line, the "road." The dance and song leader stands on the "road" west of the pole, and facing east. On either side of the leader stand the best singers. There is no drum. The dancers, holding one another by the

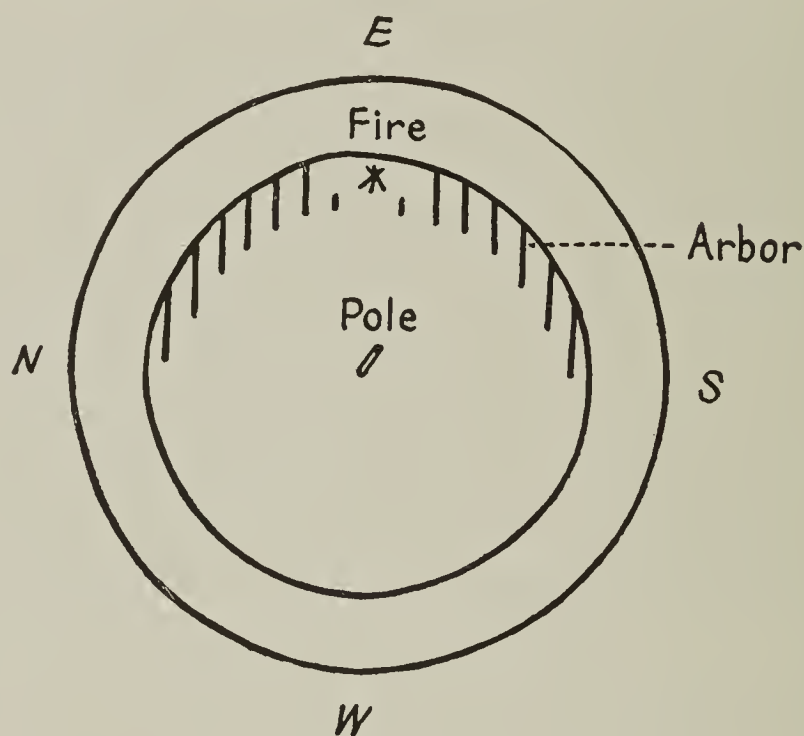


Fig. 2. Ghost dance ground

hand, move singing, in anti-sunwise circuit. At the close of the song the dance and song leader should be standing on the "road." Between songs people rest and smoke. There is a special closing song, at dawn. After a certain number of circuits are made, the circle pauses with the leader at the south. At the next pause he is at the east, at the next, at the north, at the next, back at the west and with this morning star (*naid'achawaniisha*) song the dance concludes.

Formerly in the hair of the leader, fastened into the braid at the back and sticking up, was an eagle wing or tail feather, tipped with a downy eagle

<sup>175</sup> Among Pawnee sometime after 1904 hand-game was introduced into the Ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee (Murie, 636).

<sup>176</sup> Blue was associated with the dead by the Caddo. Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María wrote that the Indians liked blue "because it was the color of heaven." Green (identified with blue) pigment has been found in Caddo graves, and grave vessels are smeared with green (Harrington, 288-289).



feather painted red (frontispiece),<sup>177</sup> and from this he was called *tsa'nida'a* (*tsa'*, "Mr.," *nida'a*, feather erect). On either side stood other *tsa'nida'a*. To seven men Sitting Bull "gave the feather" and songs. According to White Moon these men were Moon-head (pp. 47 n. 174, 52), White-bread (p. 10), Mr. Blue, Tsa'owisha (John Shemamy) (p. 74), T'amo', K'aaka'i (Crow) or Billy Wilson, Mr. Squirrel (p. 47). The last four are still living (1921). Crow is very old and feeble. Squirrel as noted on p. 52 is still a Ghost dance leader. He is a brother of the deceased chief at Fort Cobb.

Mr. Blue's supernatural helper was the fox, and he would hang a fox skin to the top of the pole.<sup>178</sup> At the base of the pole food is set out. After the dance the pole is taken up and placed where it is kept between dances, in the fork of a nearby elm tree.

Mr. Blue determined what was to be danced. On the second night, *kak'it'imbin* may be danced at the same time *nanisana* is being danced, or the two may alternate or *kak'it'imbin* may be danced alone as a preliminary, until the people gather. In this dance there is a drum around which the dancers group, the bunch dancing in sunwise circuit around the dance floor. There is no leader. The songs are contributed by individuals who hear them, they claim, "from the winds or from a bird or something" or dream them. "A fellow will dream of a song or in his dream will hear somebody singing, he wakes up, he remembers the song." To others the words are unintelligible.

This is a reference to dreaming at any time as well as to the dance trance of which White Moon related nothing further until I asked direct questions. This feature is passing away,<sup>179</sup> he opines; in the summer of 1921 not a single trance occurred. On going into a trance (*t'ot'aya*, he went off into a trance) a dancer will leave the dance circle, falling down. On coming to, he will sing the song he may have dreamed, standing either near the dance leader or at the pole. There is one man who has the habit of climbing the pole to induce trance. Neither dance leader nor any one else helps nowadays to induce trance. Nor is the red paint, *hawanu*, any longer used.<sup>180</sup> Nowadays White people take part in Ghost dance celebration.

Ingkanish's succinct account of the Ghost dance refers to the trance. "Sing favorite song, feel so happy, take them fits, fall down, have a trance, see people, come back and tell what they have seen. Believed 'world was

<sup>177</sup> As a study in acculturation compare with the buckskin-painted picture figured by Mooney, Pl. CIX.

<sup>178</sup> See p. 59. Choctaw associated the fox with the dead (Swanton 3: 216-217).

<sup>179</sup> As among Pawnee, Murie, 636.

<sup>180</sup> See Mooney, 1098.

coming to an end; forgot stock and lost them. Danced in winter, got sick from colds. So Government don't like Ghost dance and has been stopping it;<sup>181</sup> but it may come back again through Roly (Holy) Rollers, just the same as Ghost dance."

#### PEYOTE CULT

Before the night meetings everyone takes a bath in the creek "to wash away sins," or a sweat bath. For sweat bath is made a dome-shaped frame of willows, over it a canvas wagon-cover. At the fire outside, the stones are heated, taken into the house and a little water poured over them to make steam. One man says a prayer while he beats the stones with white-leaf (?sage) brush. Ten to twelve men take the sweat bath at the same time.

After the bath everybody goes into the tipi that has been put up for the ceremony, and sits down in the circle anywhere except at the entrance in the east where the two fire builders sit and except opposite in the west, at the "road," where the two leaders sit. After the tipi has filled up, the leader rolls a cigarette of corn husk and tobacco (Bull Durham), draws in and puffs the smoke upward. All the others present, women as well as men, roll themselves a cigarette. The leader or road-man (R. *niya'tsi kut'o'caa'*, road he was sitting) holds his cigarette a second or two over the piece of peyote lying in front of him, Father Peyote (R. *a'asiga'o'*, father, ear),<sup>182</sup> puffs again, and prays (*tumbakauutsihadina*). Then he lays down in front of himself what is left of his cigarette, as do all the others. Now the peyote is passed around, either in liquid form or dry. After passing his hands over Father Peyote, barely touching it, and then over his own person, each takes what he wants, what he can stand, of the peyote that is being passed around. After swallowing, the recipient sprays his hands, and rubs them over his face and body (R. *ha<sup>a</sup>hatwɪɔdao''ta'*, good to do to oneself).

The road-man starts to sing, on his right the drummer. In his right hand the road-man carries a gourd rattle, in his left, a long stick surmounted by a cross, which is referred to as arrow (*b'a*). This is ornate with beadwork and eagle feathers. After singing four songs, he hands the "arrow" and gourd to the drummer, and takes the drum. Now the ex-drummer sings four songs. After these, the man on the left of the road-man gets the drum and the man beyond him the gourd and "arrow," and the act is repeated, and so it goes, in sunwise circuit, couple by couple, until all but the women have both drummed and sung. Four times the complete circuit has to be made, then the performers may have a drink of water. There are two water carriers (*kuku naik'aniwaha*).

<sup>181</sup> Before the world war of 1914 all dancing was stopped and, according to Pardon, since then there has been no Ghost dance performance.

<sup>182</sup> Dried peyote is supposed to look like an ear.



Should any one have to go out of the tipi during the night, on his return he stands near the fire and the two fire-builders (*nehpink'ania*) brush him with eagle feathers.<sup>183</sup> This is "to drive the evil spirits away." The dark is evil.<sup>184</sup> That is why the fire has to be kept up throughout the night. The fire sticks are laid one above the other like fingers imbricated, the crossing toward the tips.

This fire is in the centre of the tipi and of the pear-shaped stage of clay which is raised about half a foot. East of the fire is outlined in the clay a

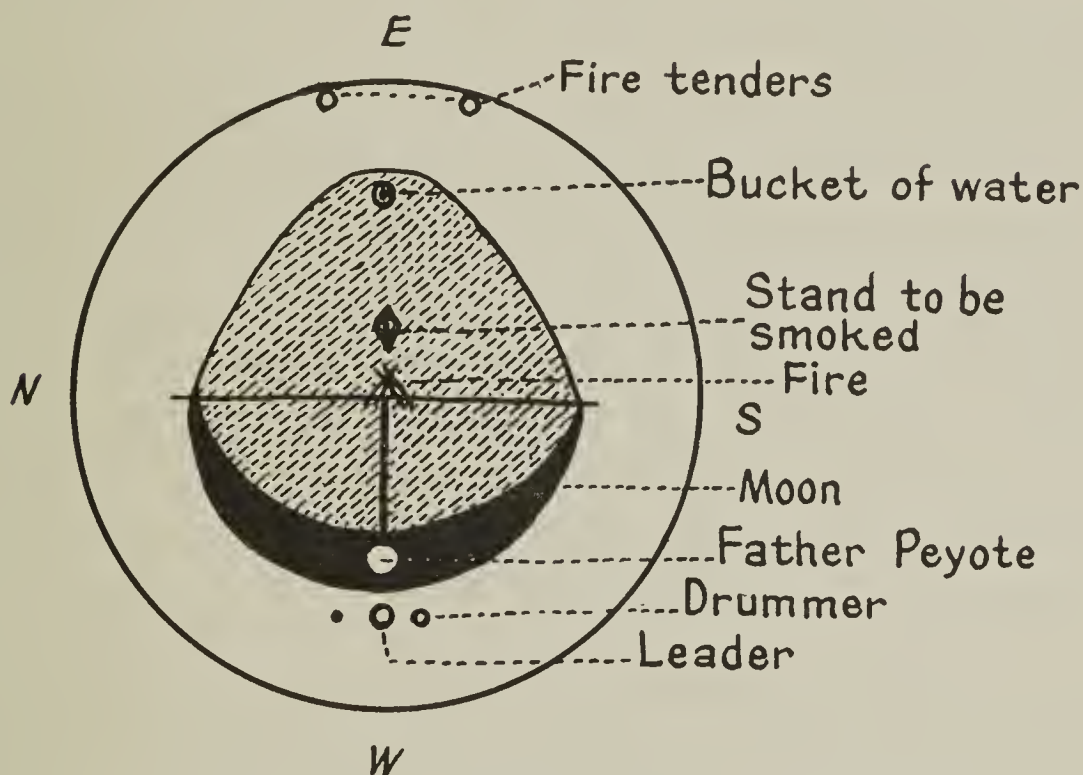


Fig. 3. Peyote stage

diamond-shaped space for those who are smoked to stand on. Around the western<sup>185</sup> and broader part of the clay stage or platform lies in crescent moon shape a higher elevation in clay. On this foot-high "moon," lies, where the imaginary "road" from the bucket of water, through the fire, meets it, the fetich peyote referred to as Father Peyote. Here on the west side is, therefore, the altar (Fig. 3). Hanging to the tipi wall, back of the road-man, is a picture of Jesus. (Yet "Christians are against Peyote.")

At dawn, before sunrise, all go out and line up, facing the sun.<sup>186</sup> All raise up their hands, palms outward, and pass them down over the body (*haatdaot'a*). They re-enter, sit down, sing a little, and then take a drink of sweetened water and parched and pounded corn supplied by the man

<sup>183</sup> Cp. Kiowa, Parsons, 135; see pp. 36, 52; very common rite among Pueblos.

<sup>184</sup> Cp. La Barre, 152 n. 5, 157-158.

<sup>185</sup> In a few cases eastern; but this reversing of the positions of tipi, moon, etc. is not generally approved of.

<sup>186</sup> Once, on this occasion, White Moon "heard the sun coming up," a Peyote cliché.



holding the meeting. Now any one may go home, but some stay to eat dinner at noon. The dinner is placed in the centre of the tipi. No salt may be served at either meal, and while under the influence of peyote no knife, no weapon may be used. Alcohol is of nature taboo, for drunkards are nauseated by peyote. Evil thoughts during the ceremonial are taboo, for whatever evil you might think of at that time, would subsequently come upon you. You are told "to set your head just for the good."

After dinner anybody may come into the tipi. Cedar is put on the fire and with the eagle feathers the participants brush the smoke over themselves—the final rite.

There may be considerable significance for the development of the cult in the fact that a Peyote meeting is apt to be held the night before a memorial death feast i.e. the memorial dinner and the Peyote dinner are the same.

But any one who has peyote plants<sup>187</sup> may call a Peyote meeting. Various men at Sugar Creek call meetings and serve as leaders or Peyote chiefs or road-men—Enoch Hoag<sup>188</sup> (Gen. I, 7) the chief,<sup>189</sup> Sorrel (Gen. I, 20), Worthless (Gen. I, 19), Mr. Fish (Gen. II, 22). Mr. Squirrel (Gen. II, 24)<sup>190</sup> serves as a fire builder. Nishkantuh or Moon-head<sup>191</sup> (Gen. II, 20), (deceased 1897), was "a wonder in Peyote meeting." Had you any evil in your mind when you came to meeting Moon-head would point you out.<sup>192</sup> "If that is the kind of thought you come here with, get out!" he would say. "This is no place for it." Moon-head was run over by a train and killed. With him was killed the wife he had been given as "a kind of pay" by the Quapaw he had been visiting. He was taking her home, although he had another wife.<sup>193</sup> It was claimed that anybody could have seen that train coming. Other Peyote leaders said that this was a punishment, Moon-head had come to

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<sup>187</sup> They are bought at \$2.00 a hundred from an agent in Mexico. See Parsons, 118, for mention of a trip to Mexico to get peyote by a Kiowa, a Comanche, and a Caddo.

<sup>188</sup> He is possessed of an "arrow" or cross stick, as was also Mr. Blue.

<sup>189</sup> The "moon" or ritual of Enoch Hoag was coming to be considered more "pure" and aboriginal than the "big moon" of the famous leader and innovator Moon-head or John Wilson (La Barre, 161).

<sup>190</sup> He is mentioned as one of the two delegates sent in 1891 by the Caddo to see the Paiute messiah of the new cult, the Ghost dance (Mooney, 903), and he is still prominent in the Ghost dance, see p. 49.

<sup>191</sup> Cp. La Barre, 151 ff.

<sup>192</sup> For his reputation as mind reader, cp. La Barre, 159.

<sup>193</sup> All this may be something of an *ex parte* statement, since the other wife was a kinswoman of White Moon. In White Moon's opinion, however, the punishment attached not to the polygynous act, but to taking a woman in connection with the Peyote cult. Cp. La Barre, 159.

know too much, he was overdoing it, "going to extremes." It was Moon-head who started the cult among the Caddo, taking it from the Kiowa and passing it on to the Osage. Osage have permanent Peyote houses and in them hangs a picture of Moon-head. Osage and Caddo have joint Peyote meetings. Likewise Caddo and Quapaw. It was at Peyote meetings that Vincent Johnson met his first wife, a Quapaw.

From Enoch Hoag White Moon heard the following account of how peyote was found.

A Kiowa was out scouting when he lost his horse. There he was in the desert, without water, and almost dead. He lay there thinking that he would never see his people again. It was early in the morning, still dark, when he heard somebody talking to him. He could not see him. Somebody said, "Follow me! There are lots of us living down there." So he followed the voice, he walked and walked and walked. He stopped. All he could see was peyote growing there, lots of it. The voice said that what he saw was what was going to save him. He picked some and ate it. It gave him strength. The voice told him to take some with him. The voice led him out of the desert, to water. That was the way peyote was found.

According to Pardon, peyote is good medicine for gun-shot wounds. He himself was cured by it of a bad "spider" bite. Another time after nine months in bed he was cured by peyote. One sickness, tuberculosis, peyote does not cure.

This contemporary cult of Peyote among the Caddo has been described as a sequence of the Ghost dance cult, but the Peyote cult here, as in some other tribes, has older roots also. At the close of the seventeenth century it was reported of the Caddo that they had in their dances men and women who got "drunk on peyote or frijolillo" [mescal bean] and that the people believed everything these persons told them they had seen.<sup>194</sup>

#### WAR DANCE<sup>195</sup> AND OTHER DANCES

In the war dance (R. *gucu<sup>u</sup>wigaocan*, *gu*, where, *cu<sup>u</sup>wi*, men, braves, *gaocan*, dance), the men bunch around the drum and move dancing around the dance floor. They carry a tomahawk or a scalp on a stick, and wear the typical war bonnet of eagle feathers fastened to a strip of cloth. On the face is painted the characteristic mark of the dancer's supernatural partner—

<sup>194</sup> Hatcher, XXXI, 55-56; cp. La Barre, 110.

<sup>195</sup> Said by Absentee Shawnee to have been borrowed about 1888 from the Caddo they visited. The Caddo borrowed this "bunched" or "round" dance from Winnebago, say Shawnee. "The Caddo went up to the Winnebago and caught all these songs of the Winnebago scalp dance and brought them back" (Voegelin).

Coon, Fox, Lightning.<sup>196</sup> (Fig. 4.) The women, wearing their buckskin dress, stand together, on the outside, moving slightly.

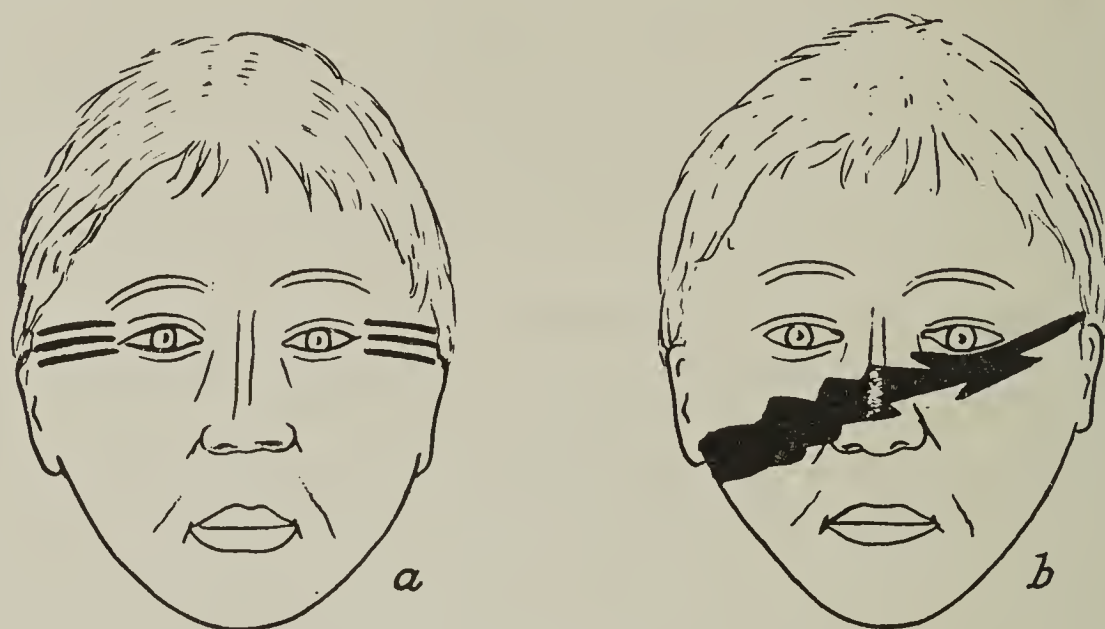


Fig 4. Face painting of war dancers

a. Coon

b. Lightning



Fig. 5. Head ornament in Turkey dance

<sup>196</sup> Tattooing, universal in the Southeast, was formerly practiced. Men tattooed themselves with birds and animals or, half the body, with zigzag lines [?to represent lightning]. Women used geometrical designs (Joutel, 349, 363). The fact that the Frenchman whom Joutel found living in a Caddoan group just like a "savage" was tattooed suggests that he had been



If a feather falls out of the bonnet of a dancer or off the decorations of his person, some senior with war experience has to pick up the feather and "tell an old story of some place where they had a fight and won it."<sup>197</sup> At the end of the story everybody who has a drumstick beats once on the drum, then the dance goes on.

#### TURKEY DANCE

Turkey dance (R. *nu'gano'cāniya'*: *nu'*, turkey, *gāno'cāniya'*, going to dance) is danced by women only, circling two by two around the centre pole, their step a turkey trot. To sing for them is a choir of three or four men, who sit down around their drum, anywhere convenient. There is no dance leader. The dancers wear a broadcloth blanket, lots of bead work, and tied to their hair-braid at the back a plaque studded with small mirrors and brass tacks, with ribbons pendent. (Fig. 5.)

Neither in connection with this dance nor at other times is there any ceremonial use of turkey feathers, and turkeys are eaten. The Turkey dance is not accounted a religious dance, it is merely "to pass the day away."<sup>198</sup>

There are other pleasure dances performed not on the dance floor but off to the south side.

*gakidiā'naga'* (R.) ("You are in front of somebody")

Two big fires are built, east and west, from ten to fifteen yards apart, and around them anti-sunwise circuits are danced. (Fig. 6 A.) A man leader gives a shout and other men fall in behind him, the leader singing, the others singing back. After the men have made this start the women fall in, two women behind two men, the leader only going single. Serpentine figures are made, coiling and uncoiling. (Fig. 6 A.) No drum, no special dress. "Stamp dance," White people call this summer pleasure dance.<sup>199</sup>

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taken into a society or adopted into a clan. He had gone on a war party with his hosts and killed an enemy.—Compare Choctaw clan marks (Swanton 3: 163).

Possibly here again White Moon is confusing eponymous clan beings with guardian spirits.

According to Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús María (1691) war paint was to keep enemies "from recognizing them" (Hatcher, XXX, 214).

<sup>197</sup> In the modern *iruska* ceremonial of the Pawnee a dance chief says, "You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay" (Murie, 627).

In Choctaw war dances the men wore on the head as many broken white feathers as they had killed men (Swanton 3: 163).

<sup>198</sup> It was danced among other dances when Absentee Shawnee visited the Caddo "to make friends" through gift exchange (1882-1891) (Voegelin).

<sup>199</sup> The Shawnee and many other tribes of central Oklahoma have these night social dances or "stomp dances" in summer. Shawnee say this form of dance, with leader shouting and no drum or gourd rattles used, is borrowed from the Creeks (Voegelin).

*gani'ga'niasiwa'* (R.)

This is started by the women who stand in half circle about the drummer and choir for the first song. At the second song, the men fall in, alternating with the women, all holding hands, and now proceeding to dance around the two fires in a cord formation. (Fig. 6 B.)

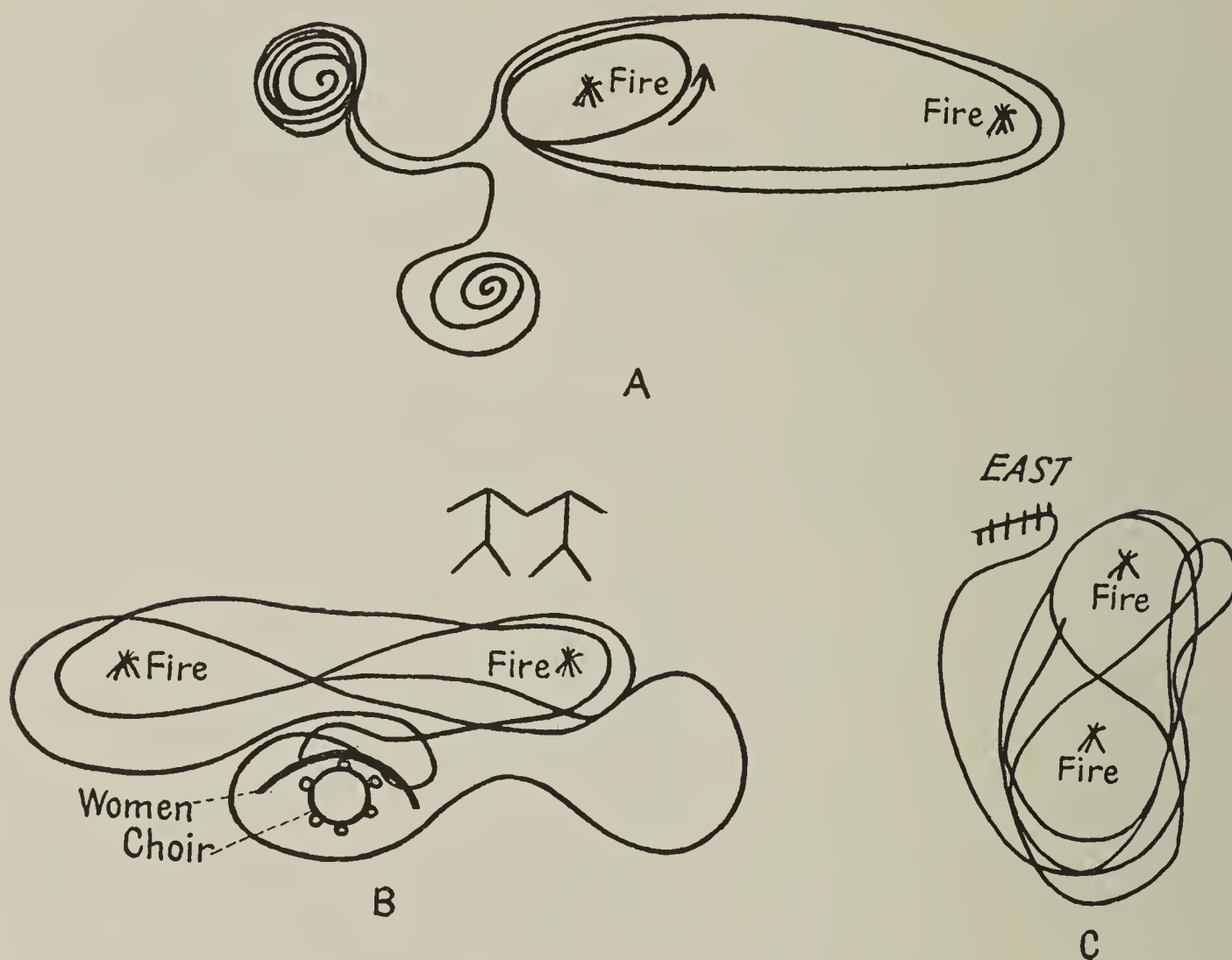


Fig. 6. Dance formations

A. *gakiDia'naga'*

B. *gani'ga'niasiwa'*

C. *gagi'dj'ani'can*

*gagi'go'ani'* (R.) (to grab)

The women form a circle around the drummer, moving forward and back and singing with the drummer. They sing to the men to come and grab them. The men look for the girl they want, striking matches the better to find her. Each man holds the girl with her blanket around both, and the couples dance on around. This is an old tribal dance.

*gagi'dj'ani'can* (R.) (shake bells)

This is danced towards morning, i.e. it is the conclusive dance. Several men stand in line, from thirty to forty, White men among them. They face

the east. The leader shakes the bells, sleigh bells strung on a strap. All sing. Then they start to go around the fires, the women, "after a good start," falling in behind the men they want to dance with, and taking hands. Each faces the direction moved in, one hand forward, the other back. (Fig. 6 C.) Fifteen or sixteen songs are sung.

#### INTERTRIBAL DANCES

In August there is a week of intertribal dancing, by Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and Caddo, at Washita or Anadarko or Wahtunga. The tribe that is giving the dance sets the dance pattern, i.e. the other tribes dance what their hosts dance. Were the Caddo the hosts, they would have the Ghost dance and the Stomp dances, the former for two or three days or five or six days, followed by the pleasure dances. In the Ghost dance the visiting tribespeople "would get in anywhere," dancing with the Caddo.

In 1919 a scalp dance was held at Wahtunga in connection with two scalps brought from Europe by Cheyenne soldiers.

#### SUPERNATURALS

Grandfather or Father Sun, Earth (*wadat'ina: wadat'*, earth, *ĩn'ă*, mother),<sup>200</sup> Fire (*ibat'niko: ibat*, grandfather, *niko*, fire),<sup>201</sup> Lightning (*ika adinin: ika*, grandmother, *adinin*, lightning), Thunder (R. *igahabaganaswa*, grandmother, noise maker, see p. 16),<sup>202</sup> Winds,<sup>203</sup> Cyclone, God,<sup>204</sup> all are referred to by White Moon as supernatural beings, but so vaguely that in his mind, at least, they appear to have little religious import. Whereas to ghosts and to certain animals a more definite significance attaches.

The relationship with the animals is the familiar one of supernatural helper, or, in White Moon's phrase, partner—*pi'do'niwāna'gu* (R.), "two are partners with"<sup>205</sup> e.g. bear or panther or screech owl or lightning, *pi'do'niwāna' gu nauutsi* or *Gici'*<sup>206</sup> (R.) or *ga'e'tsi* (R.) or *adinin*. "You have

<sup>200</sup> Cp. Mooney, 1096, 1098; Pawnee, Dorsey 3: 14.

<sup>201</sup> Ingkanish refers to "Mother Fire."

<sup>202</sup> *ika habakan' naswa'wa*, grandmother, make a noise, going everywhere (Pardon). He also referred to *ibat ihinin*, Grandfather Thunder, to *ina koko*, Mother Water, *ina wadat*, Mother Earth, *a'a' sako*, Father Sun.

<sup>203</sup> *Hohutu*. "Wind is spoken of as somebody."

<sup>204</sup> *Năă'*, father above: *ăă'* father, *na* above (Mooney, 1103). Early in the eighteenth century two Spanish Franciscan missions were established among the Caddo; in Oklahoma, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Catholic missions were established in 1872, 1881, and 1894 (Handbook).

<sup>205</sup> R. *tsi'toniwāna' Gu*, I am partner with.

<sup>206</sup> In translating this term White Moon prefers to say *tiger*, not panther. "There are still a few tigers in Wichita Mountains," he says.



the same power as your partner," from him you get your power, and such partners can understand each other. The partnership is established through some *accidental* encounter, not through deliberate seeking, and only certain men, comparatively few, I take it, doctors included, have had such experience. The following stories show how the experience is come by. The first story is about White Moon's great-uncle (Gen. II, 12), called Snipe as a youngster, in later years Kill-deer. He was a hunter of deer and bear, and sometimes served as hunt leader.

When Snipe was a little fellow, they would send boys down early in the morning to the river, to break through the ice. After this morning bath, Snipe would take his bow and arrows and go hunting, but he never got anything. But one morning, while ahunting, he heard something mewling. Two panthers came by. They stuck up their tails and rubbed against him, like a cat. He knew that panthers were mean, still he ran his hand over one and petted it. The panthers left him and went down over a hill to his right and disappeared. He looked over there, and there was a herd of deer. After that Snipe or Kill-deer was graceful like a panther, keen-sighted, and quick of hearing. And he never would kill a panther, because it was his friend.<sup>207</sup>

Several years later the people were camping and one day in moving camp they left behind a piece of iron to tan deer hides. Kill-deer started back to fetch it. With him he had a dog he thought a lot of. Going along the creek the hound went around a bend and began to bark. When Kill-deer got there he found the dog lying dead. He saw tracks which he knew were panther tracks. He grew angry, he started to trail—the tracks were of three panthers. After a few hundred yards he found a panther with two cubs up a tree. He killed them, with the piece of iron.

Why all this had happened Kill-deer did not know. When a man is out hunting, the people at home should not fuss; if he was buffalo hunting, for example, they should not say that perhaps the buffalo would kill him. And so now Kill-deer thought that his people might have been fussing. He went home and told his people all about it. He went through the ceremony to ask forgiveness (R. *dumbakaotsiha<sup>a</sup>-dina'*) from his friend, the panther.

About forty years ago on a hunting trip a certain man got lost, and a panther attacked him and fractured his skull. On recovery, this man found himself attached to the panther, and possessed of his power. Now some horses had been stolen by Caddo from government soldiers who charged it to this man and wanted to jail him. He got sore about it, he said that he was not going to jail, they would have to take him dead, he would kill them. But the Chief decided to give the man up to the soldiers, otherwise the soldiers would punish the whole tribe. One man said, "I'll go after him. Why should we all get into trouble for one man?" He went, the (accused) man came out,

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<sup>207</sup> Formerly the taboo on killing panthers was general (Mooney, 1093).

he fired off a shot, he said, "If I live after noon today, nobody will kill me, and many will be lost." They did not know what he meant, so they decided to kill him. They waited a while, then they killed him. Already his back had hair on it, spotted [marked] like a panther; his back had turned panther, he was half panther.

Two men are mentioned as partners with Wolf (R. *ta·ca'*),<sup>208</sup> Worthless (Gen. I, 19) and Maik't'it'i, and both are reputed thieves, with thieving power from Wolf. Once Little Mike was jailed, but he got away, they could not keep him. He was said to have escaped through the keyhole, not through the help, however, of Wolf, but of another partner, of forgotten name.

Nłhi' (R.) or Billy Bowlegs (Gen. II, 8), another great-uncle of White Moon was partner with *nłhi'*, the horned hoot owl. As the family was sitting up together one night, they heard an owl hooting. Nłhi'<sup>209</sup> said, "We have had bad news."—"What?" asked his sister, Chu'u. "We are going to have floods, our crops will be drowned." That summer there were floods and washouts. One power of the owl is to predict.<sup>210</sup> And an owl partner may be sent to carry messages.

The partner of Mr. Blue (Gen. I, 10), White Moon's father, was Fox (*ku'us*). Mr. Blue hung a fox skin, we recall, to the pole in the Ghost dance of which he was leader. When White Moon was a child, at night a fox used to come up to the house. "My father would come as a fox to see how I was doing. When I was sick, the fox would come oftener. My father always knew when I was sick, although, having married again, he was living in another place."

Supernatural partnership is not limited to the animals, a man may be partner with Sun or Cyclone—*pi'do'niwāna' gu* (R.) *s'aku* or *shahau'*, or with Lightning, *pi'do'niwāna' gwadinin*. Moon-head appears to have been partner with the Moon.<sup>211</sup>

Formerly in war certain men figured as partners with the Clouds. They could make a mist rise and hide them from the enemy, or they could summon a heavy rain to wash out their tracks.<sup>212</sup> Other men would have the power to make you lose your way, by changing the look of the landscape,

<sup>208</sup> Another hunt leader particularly for bear, was Kill-deer's brother-in-law, Tahbakum-shia (Gen. II, 16), a Shawnee.

<sup>209</sup> Nłhi' was named for his "partner"; and so, indirectly, was his brother, Kill-deer; but this name relation does not always occur.

<sup>210</sup> Medicine-Screech Owl, a culture hero in the tales recorded by Dorsey, has the power of prophecy. Among Shawnee the owl predicts misfortune (Voegelin). Cp. Choctaw, Swanton 2: 199, 216-217.

<sup>211</sup> See p. 47 n. 174.

<sup>212</sup> See p. 40. Cp. Pawnee, Dorsey 1: 51.



they might bring up a tree where it had not been before, but whence this power was received is obscure.

"Our people are *very much* afraid of ghosts (*ka<sup>a</sup>yu*)," said White Moon. Ghosts are said to be hungry. When anybody gets something fresh from the store, a bit of it is put into the house fire. The story goes that once Tom Moonlight (Gen. II, 46) was walking home with groceries and heard something behind him. He could see nothing. He dropped bits of his supplies on the road and the sound stopped. Any one walking out at night and hearing something behind him would drop a piece of meat, if he had it, or would cut off a piece of tobacco or roll a cigarette and throw it down.<sup>213</sup> It is dangerous for a man to be scared that way (Ingkanish).

Once the Government Indian policeman was going through some timber. He heard something behind him. It stopped when he stopped. Finally it left him at a certain stump. He showed the stump the next day to some White fellows. They dug there. They said they found nothing. The policeman visited the stump and saw an empty kettle. This had had money in it. The *ka<sup>a</sup>yu* (ghost) was trying to show it to him; but the White fellows got it (Ingkanish).

Abroad at night are (R.) *habana'di'gahai* (*habana'*, worthless, *di'gahai*, things) or (R.) *hac~~da~~na'di'gahai*, dangerous things—evil spirits would be the approximate English term.

*Ha'yacatsi* (R.), "lost," are very small, stout people who wander about, without a home, toward the south, in the bamboo country. They can speak every language. It is said that when you are out camping, one of them might approach you and ask you to wrestle. All they think of is wrestling. Small though they are, they can throw you.<sup>214</sup> If you play with these people, according to Pardon, who live, he thinks, in the mountains, they will give you power so nobody can throw you.<sup>215</sup>

#### TALES AND OTHER LORE

Stories were told at night, in winter (Pardon). The boys had to bathe in the creek early in the morning before the night of story telling. While listening to the story they had to sit straight. If the story was not told right it would turn cold.

<sup>213</sup> Shawnee won't eat outside at night, without dropping a little food for the ghost; otherwise the ghost would think you were "stingy" and take revenge. Also Shawnee never wash their dishes after supper, but leave them covered with a cloth, so if ghosts are about, they can have some food and not call the persons stingy. Also, no water that has stood overnight is used the next morning, as ghosts may have been in the house and drunk from the pail (Voegelin).

<sup>214</sup> Cp. Choctaw, Swanton 3: 198.

<sup>215</sup> See pp. 62, 63-64.



THE DOCTOR WHO TOLD HIS SECRET<sup>216</sup>

There were two little boys playing all the time together. They were *tesha*. The folks of one lived away at some distance. The other was the chief's son. One day they went bird hunting. The chief's son came back without his friend. On a mountain they had found a big hole. The chief's son threw the other boy into it. (A chief's son may be like that—overbearing.) He was down there six days. He was crying. Two ravens (*o'wa'*) flew down. One said, "My boy, we heard you crying. We are going to get you out. Hold to our wings. Put one hand on one of us, one hand on the other. Don't open your eyes." They took him up to the sky—where there was another world. They took him back to earth. "Now you are going to be a fine doctor (*kona*).” They gave him a drum to call them by and a song. "Don't use it unless it is important! Don't call for nothing! Don't tell how you got out, keep it secret." Now he was *p'itauniwan'ha ku o'wa'*, partner with Raven. When he came back, they asked him where he had been. "In a hole." They went to see it. "How did you get out?" He did not know. They kept on asking him and asking him. The little boy cried, finally he said, "They told me not to tell, but now I am going to tell you. From now on you won't have any powerful doctor." They sat in a circle around him. He played on the drum and sang. Two ravens flew down, each with two centipedes (*saiwachai*) around its neck. "What is the matter? Why do you call? Is any one sick"—"No. They kept questioning me. Finally I got tired and called you."—"Well, get ready! Put your hands on us." Then they flew off with him. They saw his bones dropping down. The centipedes were eating him. Since then they have never had any powerful doctor.

WHERE THE WITCH HAD HIS POWER<sup>217</sup>

There was one witch (*naiiti*), the most powerful of all. He was an old man and he always wanted to marry young girls. The old people were afraid of him. The chief had a pretty daughter. This witch asked for her. The chief said, "You are too old." That night the girl died. The chief told his messenger (*t'uma*) to go and kill that witch. He killed him, buried him. Next morning he heard a great explosion from the grave. The witch was alive again in his house. The chief got *yuku* [medicine men] to tell about him. *Yuku* said the witch had his power in a little basket with a little bow and arrows under his right armpit. So they killed him again. Under his arm they found the basket. This time he stayed dead.

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<sup>216</sup> Told by Grayson Pardon.<sup>217</sup> Told by Grayson Pardon.

THE WRESTLER<sup>218</sup>

There was a village. They would gather the boys to wrestle. One boy was an orphan. He went from place to place. When he found a family good to him he would stay with them. An old man gave him a gun and he went hunting. He brought in a turkey. One evening he did not come back. Next morning he came back. In the evening he left again. They wondered why he was staying out all night. He told them he went turkey hunting. He shot a turkey, it fell across the creek. He heard a voice saying, "My friend, don't you come. I'll bring in that turkey." The boy was scared. The *haiyoshötsi* brought in the turkey. He and the boy picked it, cooked it, ate it. "Well, my friend, let's have some fun!" They built a fire. "I will wrestle with you." He threw him down. They wrestled four times. The *haiyoshötsi* threw him. Next morning he took the turkey to camp. The *haiyoshötsi* told him to come back the next night. He went the next night. The *haiyoshötsi* had the fire already built. They wrestled a little while. "Let's go!" They went through the brush and came to a clearing—nice smooth ground, but it was full of pointed bamboo. The *haiyoshötsi* was thrown by another *haiyoshötsi*, the chief. Then the boy wrestled with the chief and the boy threw him. After this they left together, the boy and his friend, the *haiyoshötsi*. The *haiyoshötsi* said, "I am the strongest wrestler of my people. I was never thrown before, but the chief threw me, and then let you throw him, so you would get my power. Now don't ever wrestle with your people, you would kill them. Always come to us when you want to wrestle. Don't tell the people about us." The boy did not tell about it.

One evening the boy was lying out in the brush. It was moonlight. The *t'uma* gathered the boys to wrestle, to see who was the strongest. The *t'uma* told him to wrestle to get strong. "No. The other boys have kinsfolk, they feel good. I have none. I don't feel like wrestling." *T'uma* dragged the boy over. "Don't be a coward!"—"No. I take no exercise. I can't wrestle." Still they dragged him along to where the boys were wrestling. "You brought me to wrestle with that boy. If anything happens, don't blame me for it."—"What can you do? Even strong boys can not throw that boy." They wrestled. He threw the boy. He went deep into the ground, down to his waist, he was killed. It was not the boy's fault, he had told them he did not want to wrestle.

That is the reason they send the children out to the river to bathe, to get power. That *haiyoshötsi* was his friend,—*p'itauniwan'ha ku*<sup>219</sup> *yaiyoshötsi*. The *haiyoshötsi* live in a hollow tree, sleep there. That boy was able to find them; nobody else could find them.

<sup>218</sup> Told by Grayson Pardon.

<sup>219</sup> Properly the form used should be *kammi'taniwanha*.



THE CLEVER BOY<sup>220</sup>

There was a mean boy; his mother's brother, a chief, wanted to kill him. His mother begged him off. The chief said he must not fight at home, but go out to strange Indians to fight. One day the boy disappeared. He came back and shot off his gun.<sup>221</sup> He brought in two scalps or heads fully skinned. Now he could do as he liked, his uncle could not say anything to him. He told how he got these head skins. He found a cave and hid in it. Two men came in, made a fire, lay down on either side of it with their backs to the fire. He got up and placed a chunk of coal next to one. He awoke, being scorched, and removed the coal. The boy replaced it. The man woke up angry. Somebody did this, he said, and he accused his friend. He lay down, the boy replaced the coal. Finally the two men fought and killed each other. He took the skins off their head and face.

LION BRIDEGROOM<sup>222</sup>

There was a girl, a pretty girl, the boys came courting her. The girl would not listen to them. One day she went after water, she saw a boy across the creek, she went across and talked to him. He was a handsome boy in a fine buckskin suit. She went back to the river. She talked to him. She took him to her folks, they got married. In the fall people went hunting and the boy went out with his gun. He brought nothing back. The girl's dogs were starved. They said, "Well, younger sister (*tahai'*'), we are going to follow our brother (*kinitsi*)<sup>223</sup> to see what he does that he brings back nothing to eat." So they followed him. They went to the edge of the timber, they saw him lay down his cartridge belt, lay his gun against a tree, lie down and roll over several times and stand up as a lion. They ran back and told the woman to leave, he was not a man. "He will come back and eat us up." So she went. She told the five dogs to stay in camp to bother him so he could not overtake her quickly. After she had gone on she heard the dogs barking. She could hear only three of them, the little fice dogs (*pito'si*), the two big ones were killed already. Then one dog overtook her and said, "Only two of us are left." She kept on going. Another caught up. He said, "There's only one left. Don't stop. I am going back." It was getting dark. She saw a fire on the edge of the timber. When she got there she found a *haiyoshötsi*. He asked

<sup>220</sup> Told by James Ingkanish. Reminiscent of the European Tale of the Clever Little Tailor.

<sup>221</sup> They always shoot off their gun before coming in to camp with a scalp.

<sup>222</sup> Told by Grayson Pardon.

<sup>223</sup> This is an amusing illustration of how a custom may be revealed by way of relationship terms. The dogs use the sister-brother terms used by females since the dogs are bitches. Girls are not allowed to have the dogs. The hunting dogs kept by the men are always *he* dogs.



her what was the matter. She said someone was after her. He was picking a turkey. He told her to hide in the feathers. And he went on picking the turkey. He saw the thing coming. He got his bow and arrows. When it got close he shot and killed that lion. The woman stayed all night. Next morning she went home. They asked her what had become of her old man. She said, "He was not a person, but a lion. He killed all my dogs and would have eaten me up." Her father said, "That is how you were punished for not marrying a Caddo; you got an animal for a husband." Ever since that they have been careful to know who they marry.

The tale of "Lion Bridegroom" will be recognized as a version of a widespread Negro-White tale combined with some reminiscence of the tale of Escape up the Tree. In the Caddo tales recorded by Dorsey there are a number of tales of Negro or White provenience: Calf and Bull (p. 40), Playing Dead (p. 86), Frozen Tail (pp. 91-92), Bungling Host (pp. 93-95), In the Cow's Belly (p. 99), Relay Race (pp. 104-105), Forty Thieves (pp. 105-106), and Escape up the Tree (pp. 59-60). The form of Escape up the Tree is particularly interesting for it is that of the Southeast variant of this tale which has migrated across the continent from Southeast to Northwest, witch and dogs figure instead of bulls or buffalo, the variant found among Kiowa and Pueblos. In the Pawnee variant<sup>224</sup> all figure—witch, dogs, and buffalo.

Pueblo tale elements are also recognizable: the flood-sending water serpent (pp. 46-47) (Hopi),<sup>225</sup> the dog who tells on the wife<sup>226</sup> (p. 66) (Zuni, also Kiowa), the attempt of the woman's people to get her away from her foreign husband (pp. 73-76) (Hopi, Tewa of First Mesa).

Several of the tales recorded by Dorsey were told him by Annie Wilson, White Moon's cousin (Gen. II, 45) and housemate, but of these White Moon was able to relate but one.<sup>227</sup> As a variant it is of some interest.

It was dangerous when it [the world] was in the green or raw to go abroad, there were so many big [wild] animals. A scouting party of eighteen men went out. After several days of travel they came across a very large tree with the bark off where an animal had been climbing. They thought that it might be a bear. One man climbed

<sup>224</sup> Dorsey 3: 80-81.

<sup>225</sup> Cp. Pawnee, Dorsey 3: 52, 54.

<sup>226</sup> Pardon gave a variant: When they came out of the ground dogs could talk. Then they gave so much trouble they lost their speech. A hunter would be away for three or four months, his wife would have a lover, and when the hunter came back the dog would tell on her.

Shawnee believe that dogs can talk but if a dog talks he dies right away. In a case of conjugal infidelity a dog will side with the betrayed or abandoned spouse (Voegelin).

<sup>227</sup> Dorsey 2: 57-58.

up and threw fire down into the tree. He heard a noise, something was coming up, it was not a bear. The man called to the others below that it was not a bear, it was a dangerous thing (*hacdæna'duGahai*), they should run. He went out on a limb of the tree. The dangerous thing looked like a dog, with a long body and very long tail. On a lope it followed the men. Soon the man in the tree saw it coming back with one of them. It was so powerful it dragged the body up the tree and put it down into the tree hollow. The man could hear the young ones in the hollow. The dangerous thing started out on another trail and brought back another man. One by one it brought them back, each time it was out longer. When it started out for the seventeenth man, the man on the tree jumped down. He ran and ran for miles. (In those days Indians could run miles.) Then he heard the cry of the animal behind him, and he could feel it snatching at him. All the time he was praying for something to help him. He reached a little creek. There stood something big, like a tiger, but bigger. It spoke to him, "Brother, don't be afraid, I am going to help you." The man jumped across the creek. The dangerous thing was close behind. The "tiger" grabbed it by the throat and with its long teeth cut the throat. After killing it, the "tiger" sat up and licked himself over. The "tiger" told the man to go home and tell the people what had happened.

The seventeenth man was saved, too. He had run to a big river, there was no way to cross, he prayed and prayed. The water began to move as if there was something below. Some claws came up, a big centipede (*sehwache*) raised up, and told the man to walk across the river on top of him. The water was so powerful that the dangerous thing was afraid to cross it.<sup>228</sup>

White Moon related a set of "funny stories" told him by old man Grasshopper, some of which are "tall stories" or stories of Spanish picaresque type like those recorded by Handy at Zuni.

Grasshopper said that once he lost his horse, it was gone almost a year. And one day he lost his hogs, they were gone a long time. Out hunting one day he saw a bunch of hogs up on a hill. He went up the hill and looked at the hogs; they were his hogs, nice and fat. He saw a tree move, he went up to it, there was his horse. He saw that the tree was growing on the back of the horse. When the horse had left he had a sore back. An acorn had fallen on the sore and grown into a tree. He could not get the tree out. So he cut it off, leaving the stumps of two limbs for a saddle. He drove the horse and the hogs home.

A party stopped one night to camp. They always turn their horses loose with the ropes dragging. One man had a big stallion and he always hobbled him at night. It was dark and he thought he would go and hobble his horse. All he could see in the dark was an outline of an animal. He went and hobbled the animal. Next morning when the people got up, they saw a big buffalo jumping up and down. The man could not find his horse. He had hobbled the buffalo in place of his horse.

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<sup>228</sup> This incident occurs among many Southwestern tales.



When we were little boys once there were some big bear tracks up along the mountain; but nobody could find the bear. They hunted high and low over the mountains. We used to go over the mountains and push off rocks to see them roll down. One day I pushed off a rock, and all at once a bear jumped up and started running down hill and the rock ran after it. When they got to the foot of the mountain there was a deep creek. The old bear jumped it and went up the other bank. Of course the rock stopped there, but I believe but for the bank the rock would have killed the bear.

One time a young man (*shiyatsi*) married into a family (*kin'a'inua*). In those days you had to be a good rider and a brave man. One day the young man's father-in-law caught a horse and tied him up. It was a bronco. The old man got on and the horse threw him off. So of course it was up to the son-in-law to break the horse for him. He took hold of the rope and let the horse pull him along over the hill. When he got over the hill he led the horse up to a tree and whipped him with the other end of the rope and made him buck and kick until he was played out. After the horse was worn out, he loosened the rope and got on the horse and rode it back home. He rode it to his father-in-law and said that it was broken. They took the horse into the corral and let it stand a while. Finally the old man thought he would get on the horse, which was rested up. He got on the horse and it threw him again. The whole family were out watching. The young man grabbed the rope again, he hollered at the horse, "I see you've forgotten already." The old man got up from the ground and called out to his son-in-law, "Don't whip the horse any more!"<sup>229</sup>

One night, Grasshopper said, he went to put a bell on his horse. They were out on a hunting trip. He saw something dark. He put the bell on it. Next morning he could not find his horse or hear the bell. He looked where he had put the bell. There was the track of a big bear. He took up the trail and trailed the bear up through the mountains. Soon he heard a bell, he followed the sound. Finally he saw a big black bear walking down towards the creek. He followed, the bear heard him and started to run. As there was no chance of the bear getting away because of the bell, he left the bear and went back to camp and told the others to help him kill the bear. They all went up the mountain and killed the bear.

Once there was a party out hunting. They found a big tree where a bear had been climbing. One of the young men climbed up and put some fire down the hole. Everybody was standing round waiting for the bear to come out. The old bear came out, looked around at all the horses, and made a jump astride of one of them. The horses began to run. The bear bent down to some bushes and tore off a switch. The horse ran harder. He ran to a canyon where the bear jumped down and made off.

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<sup>229</sup> It was explained that the old man had hidden and watched the young man whip the horse instead of breaking him.



White Moon knew little if anything of the tradition of tribal emergence from cave or underground<sup>230</sup> which Caddo and other Southeasterners have in common with Southwesterners; but familiar to White Moon was the phrase, *d'qki haiyano kin'aota*, six human (peoples) out came,<sup>231</sup> a reference to the emergence from the earth of the traditional six tribal divisions of the Caddo.

kwikiwawa                      dashkui      nihaia  
where we used to live,   darkness   when it was

which is translated by Dorsey as "old-home-in-the-darkness" is perhaps another reference to the emergence or pre-emergence period. "They claim that it used to be dark all the time," said White Moon. According to Pardon, the Caddo came from a hole, underground.

Several of the tales recorded by Dorsey contain such phrases as "when the world was new."

ninukihai'ya      hasaku  
when it was      green or new, not ripe<sup>232</sup>

is a regular tale opener, which is followed up sometimes by "it was a dangerous place to live in."<sup>233</sup>

hashdanah kinhai'ya      hasaku      nihai'ya  
dangerous when it was      green      when it was

Dangerous, because there were dangerous things (*hacdāna'digahai*),<sup>234</sup> perhaps monsters abroad.

<sup>230</sup> See Mooney, 1093-1094. They came up from under the ground through the mouth of a cave in a hill which they call *cha'kanĭ'nă*, "the place of crying," on a lake close to the south bank of Red River, just at its junction with the Mississippi. In those days men and animals were all brothers and all lived together under the ground. But at last they discovered the entrance to the cave leading up to the surface of the earth, and so they decided to ascend and come out. First an old man climbed up, carrying in one hand fire and a pipe and in the other a drum. After him came his wife, with corn and pumpkin seeds. Then followed the rest of the people and the animals. All intended to come out, but as soon as the wolf had climbed up he closed the hole, and shut up the rest of the people and animals under the ground, where they still remain. Those who had come out sat down and cried a long time for their friends below, hence the name of the place. Because the Caddo came out of the ground they call it *ină'*, mother, and go back to it when they die. Because they have had the pipe and the drum and the corn and pumpkins since they have been a people, they hold fast to these things and have never thrown them away.—Note striking resemblances with Pueblo emergence myth: leaving behind or, through an animal mischief maker, losing members of the tribe, who are bewailed; and bringing up the precious things, "what we live by."

<sup>231</sup> Pardon corrects: *d'onki hayanu kinayaoaha* (*kin'aota*, singular form) *nawadat*, six people come out the ground.

<sup>232</sup> Raw as of any kind of fruit or corn. Compare the Pueblo Indian concept of the beginning of the world, a sunless, unhardened, dangerous place.

<sup>233</sup> See Dorsey 2: 46.

<sup>234</sup> Cannibals (Dorsey).

Horned snakes (*kika kiokahyni*, snake with horn) still exist. The snake is black, the horn, green.<sup>235</sup> It is a water snake and if it comes out on dry land, it will be killed by lightning. This horned snake is dangerous; to get power from it is too dangerous. . . . There was a horned snake in Florida. He stayed under a coral reef, which was his house, because of the lightning he was afraid of. One time he went up from the ocean which followed him, by this giving Florida the shape of a peninsula. . . . Around here (Oklahoma) the lakes dried up and the horned snakes left (Pardon).

The following tale was summarized by White Moon in reference to something with horns, *kiu'k'ahhonih'* (*kiu'*, horn or spoon), translated "devil."

A woman went for water to the creek. She did not return and so her husband went after her. Something told him that his wife was down under the water. He went and gathered some sunflower seeds and pulled up some bamboos and out of them made arrows. Then he threw the seeds into the air and shot up the arrows, which turned into birds. The devil in the water shot up water and drowned some of the birds. This he did five times, but the birds kept on flying and the sixth time the arrows fell down and hit the water. The water began to shake all over. Soon the woman came up out of the water. The devil also came floating up. They built a big fire and burned him, for six days.

Dorsey records *tonin* as a term for Jesus. According to White Moon, Tonin was a Caddo, "a real man," who "lived in Louisiana before the people moved away from there," at the period 1700 to 1812 when Caddo tribes were under Catholic missionary influence.<sup>236</sup>

Tonin had a very small horse and a saddle with buffalo-hide straps for stirrups. He was very poor, he dressed in rags.<sup>237</sup> One day he disappeared, he was gone for some time, for how long I don't know. They said he went around the world, which I think meant the United States. Finally he came back. When he came back he told his tribe that he had met the White soldiers somewhere and had had a little talk with them.

In those days they had their tipis in rows, all made of buffalo hides. They used to have a man who got up at 4:30 in the morning and would start calling from one end of the village to the other for every one to get up. So one morning the caller (crier) came through the village calling out for everybody to get up and dress and

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<sup>235</sup> Shawnee and other eastern tribes tell of a horned snake or monster, one horn green, one horn red (Voegelin). Compare, too, the horned water serpent of the Southwest. The Shawnee horned water serpent may be brought out and killed by powerful doctors. See below.

<sup>236</sup> Mooney, 1094.

<sup>237</sup> This element of the poor and miserable little boy hero is very characteristic of Pawnee tales, and it figures in Kiowa and Pueblo tales. Also it occurs in a Shawnee tale, where an orphan boy (or two orphan boys) are sent out to get power, and maltreated. They gain power and accomplish heroic feats (Voegelin).

fix themselves and their horses, they were going to meet the White soldiers at a certain place, all the warriors had to go afoot, and the women who wanted to go could go along.

There was a big valley over the hill. When they got over the hill they saw the soldiers waiting below, cavalry soldiers. Tonin went up with his warriors and stopped twenty yards from the White captain. Tonin was in the lead, on his little horse. The White captain held up his hand. They started off and met half way between the soldiers and the Indians, and shook hands. The cavalry separated in two and they reviewed them, and then reviewed the Indians. Then they went back to the place in the middle where Tonin laid down the law he wanted to stand forever with the Caddo. He said, "I am tired of my people having to move every few days and of losing my children in battle. As long as there is the sun, as long as there is fire, as long as there are the heavens and the stars, and as long as everything grows, let us not shed blood in battle. I want you to give peace to my children." They shook hands and separated.

A few weeks later the soldiers came back and brought axes, hoes, rakes, everything for use in farming, also money and rations—flour and bacon which the Indians could hardly eat, they did not care for it, they had their own food. Nor did they know what the ax and hoe were for, they would string up the ax blade and hoe and wear them to council.<sup>238</sup> When they shot a gun they would hold one another around the waist and at the shot all would fall backwards. On another trip the soldiers showed them how to hold the gun and use the farm tools.

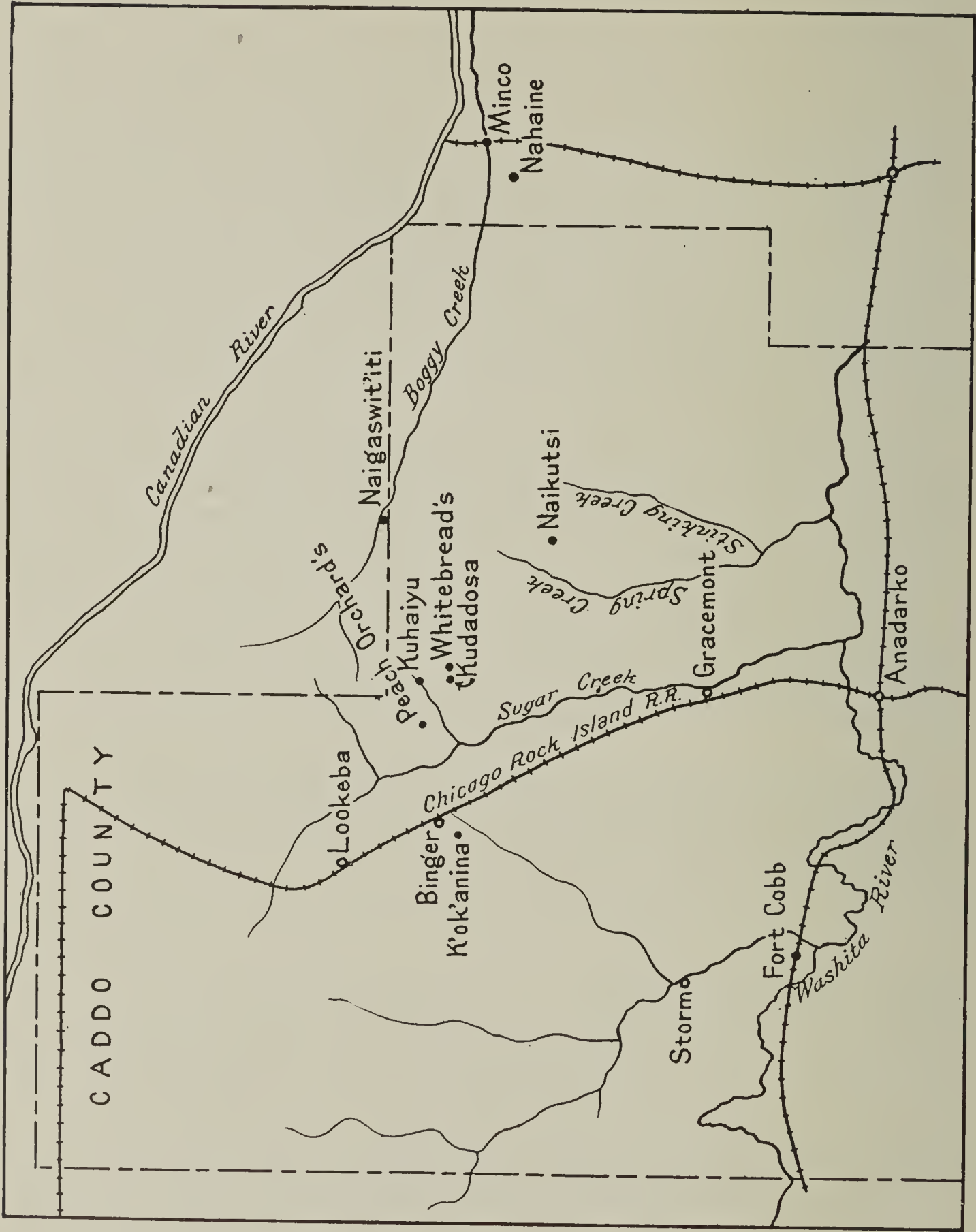
Once Tonin begged the people to cut off his finger, and he said that another person would come into the world with power like him.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Shawnee also say axes and hoes were used first as decorations (Voegelin).

<sup>239</sup> Told White Moon by his grandmother, Chu'u'u.—Perhaps Tonin is comparable with Poshaiyanki-Montezuma of the Pueblos and with Motzeyeuff of the Cheyenne.





Map of Caddo County

## APPENDIX

### FAMILY GROUPS

The localized family groups of which I have information are all in the northern division, to which White Moon belongs. He is less familiar with the family groupings in the southern division; he opines that in the southern division there is less concentration by family.

#### *Kuhaiyu*

Here there are four houses occupied by several descendants of Gen. I, 1 and 2, White Moon's paternal grandparents.

House 1: Enoch Hoag (Gen. I, 7), chief; and his wife, a Delaware; and their daughter and son-in-law. (Their son lives at Lookeba, his wife's home.)

House 2: Sam Houston (Gen. I, 24); and his wife, Bertha Deer, a Muskogee, and their daughter; and Leg-shaker (Gen. I, 46), maternal cousin of Sam Houston.

House 3: Seywit' (Gen. I, 28); and her husband, Little-boy; and their son. (Visited by her sister, Little-girl and family; but Little-girl lives at her husband's settlement, Mrs. Peach Orchard's.)

House 4: Little-black-head (Gen. I, 44) and his wife, Elsie Hendricks (Gen. I, 45, probably the daughter of Gen. I, 21); and their child. (Visited by his mother, Mrs. Curly; but Mrs. Curly lives at Mrs. Peach Orchard's.)

In this settlement there is a fifth house, now empty, but formerly occupied by cousins of Enoch Hoag. There is also an earth house, a square dug-out, with peak roof of timber,<sup>1</sup> in which before he died lived Biskuachu, Sam Houston's father's parallel cousin.

Comparison with the table, Genealogy I, shows that the settlement is composed of the descendants of two sisters and of two brothers, of whom one survives. A female cousin of theirs (Gen. I, 21) and her family used to live in this settlement.

#### *Kudadosa* ("Hill surrounded by trees")<sup>2</sup>

This is the settlement of White Moon's mother's people, in which he grew up. The settlement consists of four houses, in which live the descendants of a sister and brother and of the brother's wife's sister or parallel cousin.

House 1: Sho'sin (Gen. II, 6); and her husband, David Shemamy; and the children of a daughter deceased.

<sup>1</sup> Such houses are common, they are for storage of pumpkins, etc. They are not to be identified with the circular earth lodges formerly lived in.

<sup>2</sup> The description is realistic.

House 2: Ch''u<sup>u</sup> (Gen. II, 15); and her husband, Tom Williams (her two first husbands also lived here); and her deceased daughter's son. (Her daughter and son-in-law lived here.) Before their marriage all the children of a deceased female cousin (Gen. II, 19) of Chu''u<sup>u</sup> lived with her. Of these Seyhut' (Gen. II, 45) and her husband and children visit Chu''u<sup>u</sup>; but Seyhut' now lives at Nahaine, her second husband's home. With Chu''u<sup>u</sup> also lives Grasshopper (Gen. II, 5), an old man whose relationship is obscure. He went to live with Chu''u<sup>u</sup> after his wife died. He had no children.

House 3: Belongs to Chu''u<sup>u</sup>; it harbors Seyhut' and her family *en visite*.

House 4: Sachanatih (Gen. II, 14), widow of Chu''u<sup>u</sup>'s brother; and her children, a daughter and her husband and children, and three unmarried daughters. Her married son lives at Spring Creek, but with his family is often at his mother's.

*Nadacgathagaiyu'* (at White-bread's) or *Nakahdi* (at the chief's) (one mile east of Kudadosa)

Here are two houses in one of which live the widow of Chief White-bread, her daughter and son-in-law, Ralph Maro'; in the other of which live the old lady's daughter's daughter, Cho'otan' or Grace Aiken and her husband, Gunchaiyo (Whitehead) or Paul Frank.

*Nahaine* (Near Minco)

Here some of the Haine-speaking people had lived; but they moved away; the only survivor is Cry-baby or Ross Maro' (Gen. II, 47), brother of Ralph Maro' who lives with his wife at Chief White-bread's.

House 1: Ross Maro'; and his wife Seyhut'; and their children; and Maro's father, "when he is at home," not on the move trailing gaming parties and death feasts. The maternal aunt as well as the mother of the Maro' brothers had lived here.

House 2: Levi Frank (Nehaihi, Levi) and his wife.

House 3: Chonest'iti, Sam Black, who lives alone. As far as known he was never married.

*Naikutsi*<sup>3</sup> or Spring Creek

Here live two or three family connections, the Pardons, and the descendants and connections or Kaiyot'iti and his wife. These Pardons are "cousins" of Grayson Pardon, my informant.

House 1: Minnie (mother of Lottie, Helen, and Charlie Pardon) and her husband, Ory Griffen; and her widowed daughter.

<sup>3</sup> *Na*, locative; *ikut'*, ocean, lake; *t'si*, diminutive.



- House 2: Lottie Pardon (Gen. II, 43) daughter of Minnie; and her husband Tila.
- House 3: Helen Pardon, daughter of Minnie; and her husband, Thompson Williams; and Charlie Williams, younger brother of Thompson Williams. (Cousins, Nettie Pardon (Gen. I, 37) and Mrs. Sam Binger (Gen. II, 41) grew up here.)
- House 4: Mother of Thompson and Charlie Williams; and her husband Ba'tshush (Tail-cut-off) or K'akitsaiyet' (Chewed-up) or Benjamin Franklin.
- House 5: Kaiyot'iti and his wife.
- House 6: Sadie, the daughter of Kaiyot'iti's wife; and her husband Frank Sargent (Gen. I, 19).
- House 7: Johnson Coffee; and his wife who is the sister of Frank Sargent.
- House 8: Little-girl, daughter of Kaiyot'iti and his wife; and her husband Chanatih (Gen. II, 30) and child.
- House 9: Little-old-woman (Gen. II, 32), sister of Chanatih; and her husband, Little-brave; and two sons, Roy and Bill—when they are not at *Kudadosa*.
- House 10: George Shiyatsi (Youth), related to Little-brave and his father, Hadunko (Shorty).
- House 11: Simona who is maternal uncle to George Shiyatsi; and his wife.

*Naigaswit'iti*, Boggy Creek

Here in separate houses live or lived three sisters, whose mother, Sadipa, Mrs. Long, lived here. The sisters are Sawashish, Mrs. Osage, wife of Washish, Osage, who is, however, a Caddo; Mrs. Mike Williams; Sabinsin, mother of Vincent Johnson and Anna Johnson. Sabinsin has moved away, to Mrs. Peach Orchard's where she lives with her second husband, Tsa'bata, Mr. Fish or Charlie Adams (Gen. II, 22). Here also lived White-bead, the mother of four men who still live here. White-bead herself has moved away. The four men are Stanley (Washish) and Jerome Age and Frank and Joe White-bead.

- House 1: Sawashish; and her husband Washish or Stanley Age.
- House 2: Mrs. Mike Williams; and her husband, Mike Williams.
- House 3: Jerome Age, brother of Stanley Age; and his wife.
- House 4: T'ahsisi or Frank White-bead; and his wife, Lyda Penn.
- House 5: Joe White-bead, brother of Frank White-bead; and his wife.
- House 6: Hadöshkatsi, Stiff (commonly translated Mr. Strong-man). He is a kinsman of Sadipa and of White-bead. Inferably Sadipa and White-bead are related. Stiff is a widower, living alone.

House 7: His daughter, Bessie Wolf, and her husband, a White man.

House 8: Gantino, Red-head, or Patrick Miller, related to Stiff and to Sadipa and his wife, a White woman.

*Nasakaas*, at Mrs. Peach Orchard's<sup>4</sup>

Here lives, excepting one household, a single family connection, the Shemamys who are Muskogee.

House 1: Sakaas, Mrs. Peach Orchard, widow of Tom Shemamy.

House 2: Daughter of Mrs. Peach Orchard; and her husband, Tsa'wet-sita (Mr. Wichita, he is a Wichita); and their children.

House 3: John Shemamy or Tsa'owisha, brother of Tom Shemamy; and his wife, Saowisha; and their son, James Shemamy or Dwi'sha and daughter-in-law, Little-girl (Gen. I, 26).

House 4: Sister of John and Tom Shemamy (also David Shemamy, see Gen. II, 7) and her widowed daughter, Mrs. Curly or Margaret Deer (Gen. I, 14).

House 5: Sam Binger (Binka) (Gen. II, 40) who is a connection through marriage of the Shemamys; and his wife.

House 6: Tsa'bata, Mr. Fish or Charlie Adams (Gen. II, 22); and his wife, Sabinsin.

(Northeast of White-bread's)

This is the home of two sisters, Spibook.

House 1: — Spibook; and her husband, Bob Dunlip (Gen. I, 5).<sup>5</sup>

House 2: Nyuda<sup>6</sup> (— Spibook); and her husband, Charlie Pardon.

Another sister who lived here died. (James Spibook, their brother, has also died. He was the first husband of Helen Pardon, sister of Charlie Pardon. See Spring Creek.)

*K'ok'anina* (Water-lying lake) (South of Binger)

House 1: Widow of Hina'kahdi (Snow-chief); and a daughter, who is separated from her husband.

House 2: Oldest daughter of a daughter of Snow-chief's widow; and her husband, James Williams (son of Tom Williams, Gen. II, 18) whose first wife was a White woman.

House 3: Dohkish (Sorrel) (Gen. I, 20) related to Snow-chief family; and his second wife, Sakiansis; and, sometimes, his son, Leg-shaker (Gen. I, 46).

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<sup>4</sup> She is so named from a peach orchard she once owned at Binger.

<sup>5</sup> He had once been married to a Shawnee, Annie Pecan, and in 1893 they had attempted unsuccessfully to introduce the Caddo Ghost dance to the Shawnee (Voegelin).

<sup>6</sup> See Mooney, where she is mentioned as a Ghost dance singer.

House 4: Laury Dunlip; and his wife; and his wife's mother. (Laury Dunlip is brother of Bob Dunlip, Gen. I, 5.)

House 5: Joe Weller; and his wife; and daughter.

#### ADDITIONAL FAMILIES OR PERSONS

##### *Fort Cobb*

Brave or Tom Keys (Gen. I, 37); and his wife, Nettie Pardon; and his brother (Gen. I, 11).

Dora Keys, the sister of Tom Keys, a widow; and one child.

Fritz Hendricks (Gen. I, 47); and his wife.

Harry Age (Chuitsi, Cry-baby) (Gen. III, 17), brother of Stanley and Jerome Age. See Boggy Creek.

##### *East of Fort Cobb*

Basindiba; and his wife who is the mother of Ben Carter.

Sister of Ben Carter; and her husband.

##### *Anadarko*

Ben Carter; and his wife.

James Ingkanish; and his wife, a Cheyenne (Gen. III, 12, 13).

Henry Ingkanish; and his wife (Gen. III, 18, 19).

##### *Binger*

Chasukushi (Bangs-cut-off), who is the daughter of Snow-chief; and her husband.

Shikapu't'iti, Little Kickapoo or Frank Douglas.

The French-Caddo woman (Gen. II, 10); and her husband.

Amos Longhat (Gen. I, 23; Gen. II, 11), his second wife and her children.

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